FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE

Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-89-121
Monday
26 June 1989

Daily Report
Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-89-121 *26 June 1989*

CONTENTS

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Group on Nuclear, Space Weapons Meets in Geneva 1
'Full-Scale Meeting' Held *[TASS]* 1
Karpov Prospects for Talks *[Madrid DIARIO 16, 21 Jun]* 1
Commentator Notes 'Step Backward' *[Zorin on Moscow TV]* 2
Sensible U.S. Approach Urged *[Sorokin in PRAVDA 25 Jun]* 2
Resumption of Talks Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 24 Jun]* 3
Biden's 'Concern' on U.S. Stance *[IZVESTIYA 23 Jun]* 3
Nuclear Test Ban Talks Open 26 Jun *[TASS]* 4
Aims of Test Talk Delegation *[Moscow Radio]* 4
Commentator on U.S. Position *[Pasko on Moscow Radio]* 5
Batsanov Addresses Plenary Session in Geneva *[IZVESTIYA 23 Jun]* 5
UK, U.S. Reportedly Sign 'Secret' Arms Accord *[TASS]* 6

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Paris Humanitarian Conference Draws to a Close *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 22 Jun]* 7
'Observers Roundtable' Examines Current Affairs *[Andrianov, Kassis, Levin on Moscow Radio]* 7

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

U.S. View on Iranian Relations Assessed *[Moscow TV]* 13

China

PRAVDA Reports Chinese Leadership Changes *[25 Jun]* 13
Publishes Jiang Zemin Biography *[25 Jun]* 14
Correspondent Reports on CPC Leadership Changes *[IZVESTIYA 26 Jun]* 14
PRC Official Refutes Beijing Death Figures *[PRAVDA 17 Jun]* 15

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Burmese Beam Warns of Danger of 'Confrontation' *[Moscow International]* 15
Vietnamese Defense Minister Leads Military Visit 16
Delegation Arrives in Moscow *[Hanoi VNA]* 16
Visits Troops, Military Academy *[TASS]* 16
Le Duc Anh Received by Yazov *[TASS]* 16
Meets With Yakovlev *[TASS]* 17
Moscow Activities Reported *[Hanoi VNA]* 17
Interviewed on Troop Pullout *[Moscow International]* 17

Near East & South Asia

Iran's Hashemi-Rafsanjani Ends Visit to USSR 17
Further on Declaration on Relations *[Tehran IRNA]* 17
TASS Reports Joint Communique 18
'Text' of Communique Published *[PRAVDA 24 Jun]* 19
Shevardnadze Comments on Visit *[Tehran TV]* 20
Hashemi-Rafsanjani on U.S. Ties *[IZVESTIYA 23 Jun]* 20
Guests Tour Baku *[Baku Radio]* 21
Hashemi-Rafsanjani Speaks in Baku *[Tehran IRNA]* 22

Departs After Baku Visit *[TASS]* 22
Returns Home, Issues Statement *[TASS]* 22
Shevardnadze Meets Afghanistan's 'Abdul Wakil *[TASS]* 23

East Europe

Human Rights Delegation Leader on Romanian Fence *[Belgrade TANJUG]* 23
TASS Notes Hungarian Leadership Elections 23
Bulgarian Official Denies Soviet Troops Present *[TASS]* 24
Bulgarian Leader Zhivkov Continues Visit 24
Received by Gorbachev for Talks *[TASS]* 24
More on Leaders' Talks *[PRAVDA 24 Jun]* 24
Interviewed Prior to Departure *[Moscow TV]* 25
Comments on Restructuring, Cooperation *[Moscow TV]* 26
Mladenov Denies Bulgaria 'Deporting' Turks *[PRAVDA 22 Jun]* 29
Polish Politburo Backing for Coalition Cited *[PRAVDA 23 Jun]* 29

West Europe

Norway Sets Up 'Crisis Cell' Over Stricken Sub *[AFP]* 29
FRG 'Bewilderment' at Cruise Ship Accident Cited *[PRAVDA 23 Jun]* 30
Allegations of Crew Drunkenness Denied *[TASS]* 30
Media Cite FRG's Genscher on Gorbachev Trip 30
On Gorbachev, Missiles *[PRAVDA 22 Jun]* 30
On Soviet-FRG Ties *[MOSCOW NEWS No 25]* 31
Comments on Visit Noted *[IZVESTIYA 23 Jun]* 32
Cited on East-West Ties *[TASS]* 33
Deputy Foreign Minister on Bonn Statement *[Munich SEUDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG 23 Jun]* 33
Gerasimov Views 'Gorbomania' Phenomenon in FRG *[SOVETSKAYA KULTURA 20 Jun]* ... 33
Silayev, FRG Economic Minister Discuss Ties *[PRAVDA 17 Jun]* 34
Britain's Thatcher Receives Sakharov *[TASS]* 35

Latin America & Caribbean

Negroponte Appointment 'Perturbs' Mexicans *[IZVESTIYA 15 Jun]* 35

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Supreme Soviet Resumes Work After 2-Week Recess 36
Radio, TV Coverage Detailed *[Moscow TV]* 36
Broadcasting Arrangements Noted *[Moscow Radio]* 36
Joint Session Scheduled for 27 Jun *[TASS]* 36
Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities Session 36
'Some' Sessions To Be Relayed *[Moscow Radio]* 36
Oleynik Elected Deputy Chairman *[Moscow Radio]* 37
Organizational Matters Discussed *[Moscow Radio]* 37
Committee Memberships Examined *[Moscow Radio]* 38
Defense Committee Makeup Debated *[TASS]* 39
Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union Session 39
Committee Membership on Agenda *[Moscow Radio]* 39
Primakov Chairs Union Session *[TASS]* 40
Mokanu Elected Deputy Chairman *[Moscow Radio]* 40
23 Jun Supreme Soviet Presidium Session Reported *[TASS]* 40
Supreme Soviet Commissions, Committees Meet 23 Jun 41
Shevardnadze Proposed Foreign Minister *[TASS]* 41
Panels Debate Government Candidacies *[PRAVDA 23 Jun]* 41
Ryzhkov on Social Program Delay *[Moscow Radio]* 44
Ryzhkov Interviewed on Debates *[IZVESTIYA 24 Jun]* 45
Congress Policy Guidelines Resolution Published *[PRAVDA 25 Jun]* 47

Deputy Chairman Lukyanov Interviewed on Congress *[IZVESTIYA 26 Jun]* 56
Gorbachev Report to Congress Published in Brochure *[Moscow Radio]* 62
Economist Deputies Hold Moscow News Conference *[Moscow TV]* 62
Chairman Kryuchkov Interviewed on Role of KGB *[Moscow TV]* 63
More Reports on Novyy Uzen, Kazakh Disturbances 65
Situation 'Under Control' 23 Jun *[IZVESTIYA 24 Jun]* 65
Party Body Elects New Officials *[Alma-Ata Radio]* 65
Situation in Novyy Uzen 'Strained' *[TASS]* 66
Kazakhstan Disorders 'Spreading' *[Moscow Radio]* 66
Discord Moves to Outlying Settlements *[PRAVDA 25 Jun]* 66
Kazakh Council of Ministers Administrator Retires *[Alma-Ata Radio]* 67
Peace Committee Issues Statement on Uzbekistan *[TASS]* 67
Fergana Obkom Chief Interviewed on 'Tragedy' *[PRAVDA 24 Jun]* 68
Karimov Replaces Nishanov as Uzbek 1st Secretary *[Moscow Radio]* 70
Latvian Jurists Submit Draft Law on Sovereignty *[Riga International]* 70
Latvian Party 'Critical' of People's Front Appeal *[Riga International]* 70
Lithuania's Lack of Socialism 'Model' Lamented *[GIMTASIS KRASTAS No 14]* 70
Vilnius Conference Marks Deportation Anniversary *[Vilnius International]* 71
Lithuanian Church-State Relations Discussed 3 Apr *[TIESA 4 Apr]* 71
Defense Ministry Opens Estonian Naval Areas *[NOORTE HAAL 7 Jun]* 72
Belorussian People's Front Opens First Congress *[Vilnius International]* 72
Moldavian-USSR 'Reunification' Day Prompts Appeal *[Moscow International]* 72
Associated Press Interviews Ukraine's Shcherbitskiy *[PRAVDA UKRAINY 21 May]* 72
Ukrainian Plenum Discusses Party Political Work *[PRAVDA UKRAINY 17 May]* 77
Ukrainian Catholic Church Appeals to Gorbachev *[Vatican City International]* 78
Georgian Party Discusses Food Program Tasks *[Moscow Radio]* 79
Armenian Supreme Soviet Session Postponed *[Yerevan Radio]* 79
Armenia To Sell State Houses as Personal Property *[Yerevan Radio]* 79
Armenian Commission Reports on Mass Poisoning *[Yerevan International]* 79
Armenia To Aid in NKAO Restoration Work *[Yerevan Radio]* 79
Strikes, Curfew in NKAO Continue 19 Jun *[Yerevan Radio]* 80
Effects of NKAO Freight Unloading Strike Reported *[Baku Radio]* 80
Article Proposes Liberation of NKAO From Azerbaijan *[Yerevan Radio]* 80
Kafarova Replaces Tatliyev as Azerbaijan President *[TASS]* 80
Azerbaijan Local Industry Minister Appointed *[Baku Radio]* 80
Ismailly Raykom Plenum Elects First Secretary *[Baku Radio]* 81
Baku Commandant's Notice on 'Unchanged' Situation *[Baku Radio]* 81
Azerbaijan Aktiv Discusses Results of Congress *[PRAVDA 15 Jun]* 81
MVD Reports on Increases in 'Serious Crime' *[IZVESTIYA 14 Jun]* 81
Health Minister Reports on AIDS Statistics *[Moscow TV]* 82
TV Political Observer Describes 'Planeta' Program *[IZVESTIYA 17 Jun]* 82
Republic TV Course in Chechen, Ingush Begins *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 13 Jun]* 83
6th Issue of Central Committee Journal Published *[TASS]* 83
Contents of Issue No 5 of RODINA Reported *[PRAVDA 15 Jun]* 83

Economic

Economist Shmelev Comments on Problems

Plans for Personal Computer Production Described *[PRAVDA 23 Jun]* 84
Housing Construction Controls Proposed *[SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 16 Jun]* 85

Scientific

Aviation Minister Comments on Paris Air Show *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 21 Jun]* 87
Nuclear Reactor Claimed 'Absolutely Safe' *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 22 Jun]* 88
Pros, Cons of Space Expenditures Assessed *[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 23]* 88
Cosmonauts To Test New Spacesuit Equipment *[Moscow International]* 89

Military

Accident on Board Nuclear Submarine Reported 89
Fire Breaks Out on Submarine *[TASS]* 89
Commander Reports Reactor Fault *[TASS]* 90
Submarine Proceeding to Base *[Oslo Radio]* 90

Group on Nuclear, Space Weapons Meets in Geneva

'Full-Scale Meeting' Held

LD2306202189 Moscow TASS in English 1924 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Geneva June 23 TASS—The group on strategic offensive arms at Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva on nuclear and space weapons held a full-scale meeting today.

The Soviet side presented practical considerations on ways to resolve as yet outstanding issues related to a treaty on a 50-per cent reduction in strategic offensive arms, in particular on sea-launched cruise missiles, heavy bombers and their armaments, and mobile ICBM [inter-continental ballistic missile] launchers.

The American side elaborated on proposals made by President Bush in his June 19 statement in connection with the talks resumption.

The sides agreed on procedures for further work to draft a treaty halving strategic offensive arms and accompanying documents.

Karpov Prospects for Talks

PM2306125289 Madrid DIARIO 16 in Spanish 21 Jun 89 p 22

[Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Karpov article: "The USSR and the Strategic Weapons Agreement"]

[Text] The Soviet side's priority task in the negotiations on nuclear and space weapons that have just resumed in Geneva is the signing of an agreement on reducing by half the strategic weapons of the USSR and the United States. The Soviet delegation will spare no efforts to ensure that such an agreement is drawn up during the coming year.

With the previous U.S. Administration we managed to create a good chance of reaching concrete solutions. During the summit meeting in Washington it was agreed to observe the ABM [Anti-Ballistic Missile] Treaty, which constitutes a very important factor in the future agreement on extensive reductions in strategic weapons.

There is agreement on ceilings for strategic delivery vehicles: 1,600, with 6,000 warheads. Originally an agreement was reached to limit the number of sea-based cruise missiles. However, I must say that the move from the ABM Treaty to the so-called "strategic defense-based system" proposed by the American delegation will not permit the attainment of an agreement on the 50 percent reductions of strategic weapons.

The American side proposes uncoupling itself from the ABM Treaty, as signed in 1972, despite the fact that the main task of the Geneva negotiations is to avert actions capable of undermining it. The objective link between strategic arms reductions and limitations on anti-missile defense systems must not be underestimated. Otherwise strategic stability will be undermined and international stability jeopardized.

More Problems

Other problems that should be resolved in the negotiations relate to the limitation of cruise missiles, ICBM's on mobile installations, and heavy bombers and their armaments.

For instance, the Soviet proposals on sea-based cruise missiles suggest limiting them to 400 in their nuclear version and 600 in their conventional version. We propose setting precise limits on the classes of submarine and surface ships deploying such missiles. We also put forward a universal system for monitoring the entire "life cycle" of such missiles, from production to deployment, including inspections on board ships and submarines.

Unfortunately our interlocutors plead complexities in controls on the limitation of sea-based cruise missiles and do not accept the presence of Soviet inspectors on board U.S. Navy ships or submarines. We put forward the idea of carrying out remote controls on such missiles, but the American side refused to carry out experiments in this field. We are not losing hope of achieving this, if not with the U.S. Administration, then at least with American scientists—and, moreover, before the end of the year.

Limitations on Launch Systems

We have agreed to limit and to establish controls on ICBM launch systems on mobile installations, but we have not agreed in principle to ban them.

As for bombers, the U.S. delegation proposes that for every class of heavy bomber capable of carrying long-range air-based cruise missiles in their nuclear version, an average of 10 missiles be included. This cannot be accepted, since the B-52 bombers, for instance, are equipeed with 12 air-based cruise missiles, and work is being carried out to increase this number to 20. With this version, the United States would be able legally to exceed the level of 6,000 warheads by an extra 1,500. To rule out such a possibility the Soviet side proposes counting in missiles carried by heavy bombers on the basis of their actual equipment.

The treaty on extensive strategic arms reductions must not only reduce such weapons but also strengthen strategic stability. For neither side must have the capability to launch a first disarming strike. This problem will also be the focus of attention in subsequent negotiations in which it will be necessary to examine the structure of the strategic weapons possessed by both sides.

Commentator Notes 'Step Backward'

LD2406174889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Commentary by Valentin Zorin, Soviet television political observer: from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Hello, comrades. The talks aimed at reducing by half the strategic nuclear missile arsenal of both countries were interrupted last autumn in connection with the election of a new President of the United States and the impending replacement of the ruling cabinet. Well, the desire to see the drawing up of this most important document completed by the new Washington leadership was natural. In the opinion of experts, by the time the talks were interrupted, the draft treaty was already 90 percent ironed out and it remained only to complete the work. So what has the American delegation brought with it to Geneva? It must be said that in comparison with the point at which the talks were interrupted not only can no progress be detected in the U.S. position, but on the contrary, one can talk of a definite step backward.

An official White House representative stated that it is a matter of a new approach to the old question, explaining that the problem of verification is a major obstacle to achieving an agreement. Well, that is not in dispute. A system of verification is a most important element in any agreement on disarmament. But one can hardly suppose that the members appointed by Reagan to the previous American delegation underestimated its importance. Evidently, it is no coincidence that even influential experts in the United States now evaluate the new accents of the U.S. position as slowing down the successful completion of an agreement.

I do not know what the official reaction of the Soviet delegation will be. It has not yet been expressed. In the final analysis the problem of monitoring has for many years been a stumbling block in the process of Soviet-U.S. disarmament talks and a trump card for the opponents of these talks' success. The Soviet Union's position, however, has shown that the question of monitoring the implementation of agreements is by no means such an insuperable obstacle. Thus, it is not a matter of the technical details of the current U.S. position, but in the tendencies perceptible in the new instructions with which the American delegation has arrived in Geneva. These tendencies seem to reflect a desire not to accelerate the achievement of a mutually acceptable agreement, but, it seems to me, on the contrary, to pile up various obstacles to it. This cannot fail to arouse anxiety.

Sensible U.S. Approach Urged

PM2506171989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jun 89 Second Edition p 5

[Konstantin Sorokin "Viewpoint" article: "End or Means"]

[Text] The resumption in Geneva of the talks on nuclear and space arms prompts contradictory thoughts. On the one hand there would appear to be cause for satisfaction. Although it spent a whole 6 months "pondering," the Bush administration has nevertheless submitted its proposals. But the question which immediately arises is: When will the rest of the work—still a considerable proportion—be completed? This is a natural question since the new U.S. Administration has decided in recent weeks to make adjustments to the U.S. position on the reduction of strategic offensive arms. Citing the need for more reliable verification of an eventual treaty, it has put forward the ideas of "test" inspections with a view to ascertaining their effectiveness.

Verifying verification? Isn't this overcomplex? Of course, complex is by no means inevitably synonymous with bad, and it would be good to see an eventual verification system that is sufficiently reliable, since we are talking about limitations on the foundation of our countries' combat might. But the U.S. innovation has not met with universal applause, even in the West. A BBC commentator, for example, noted that the U.S. initiative "could prove unacceptable to the Russians" since it implies access by U.S. inspectors to the most "sensitive" aspects of the Soviet strategic potential even before an agreement is signed. And this is bound to slow down the talks.

Does brick added to brick result in a wall? The bricks which are currently becoming a barrier to an agreement began to appear last October. At that time D. Quayle, who was still just a candidate for the vice presidency, stated that the new Republican administration would seek to "slow the negotiations down." In January U.S. Government sources reported that verification problems could take at least 2 years to solve. In the spring President Bush resurrected Eisenhower's "open skies" plan, which was roundly criticized even back in the fifties. Finally, there is the aforementioned "initiative" on the eve of the resumption of the Geneva dialogue...

...So it's back to the verification problem, on which arms limitation agreements have more than once "foundered" in the past. It is not a question of it being insoluble, of course, but of how it is handled. It is worth recalling the first years that Reagan was in power. At that time his administration lambasted its predecessors for defending the "adequate verification" concept. As a counterweight it advanced the concept of "effective" verification, which was much more stringent—a reliability level close to 100 percent—and unattainable in practice. But the Reagan team, having gained political experience, essentially returned in the last 2-3 years to the more acceptable criteria of "adequate verification." Is history not repeating itself? Albeit to a different degree, the Bush administration seems to be starting out from the same point as the Reagan administration.

But time is pressing. The Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles called into question for the first time the celebrated adage that the arms race gallops ahead but talks only proceed at walking pace and so will never catch up. They have started to catch up. But if we

now lose sight of the most important objective—the reduction of strategic arms—and get bogged down in individual problems, everything could revert to where it was before, it seems to me.

In this case the first and most obvious danger is that the continuing "modernization" of strategic systems is already offsetting in advance, at least partially, the qualitative reductions which are emerging. Another danger could be described as long-term. For all its radical, revolutionary nature, the present agreement cannot halt the improvement of strategic arms. In the words of the Americans themselves, it will make it possible to implement all the strategic programs they currently have planned.

Therefore the signing of a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in the strategic arms of the USSR and the United States will immediately be followed by the question of an even farther-reaching agreement. It will have to not only lower strategic ceilings again but also substantially brake the process of the constant improvement of the combat effectiveness of strategic weapons. But until the first agreement is concluded it is impossible to start working out the second. And the lost years could see the development of kinds of weapons which it would be even more complex to control.

No way am I urging a flippant attitude to verification problems in this agreement. Especially since there is a great probability of even tiny violations being detected given the present level of development of national technical means of verification and the consolidation of the institution of on-site inspections.

The problem of verification should not be either oversimplified or overcomplicated. But it should be remembered that it is only a method ensuring the resolution of the main task—the building of a strong peace with a lower and lower level of arms. It would therefore be sensible to ensure that the end has priority over the means.

Resumption of Talks Viewed

PM2606111989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent Yu. Kosinskiy dispatch: "First Steps"]

[Text] Geneva—Two meetings between the heads of the Soviet and U.S. delegations—Ambassadors Yu. Nazarkin and R. Burt respectively—and the first joint plenary session of the Soviet and U.S. delegations have been held here. These meetings opened the 11th round of the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space arms.

By agreement, the present round will last 6-7 weeks, after which the Soviet delegation will return to Moscow and the U.S. delegation to Washington to report on the results of the talks. The reports will be made by the heads of the top-level delegations—after all, not only the security and strategic stability of the USSR and the United States, but also the program of disarmament and international detente in their global context will depend on the outcome of the talks on nuclear and space arms.

As in the preceding 10 rounds of talks on nuclear and space arms, which have been going on since March 1985 and are aimed at reaching an agreement on a 50-percent reduction in Soviet and U.S. strategic arms, the discussion of all the problems connected with solving these complex tasks is going on behind closed doors. The confidential nature of the talks does not enable journalists to provide broad and detailed coverage of their development, but the news conferences held by the heads and representatives of the Soviet and U.S. delegations give an idea of their status, of the changing climate, and of the individual obstacles emerging in the participants' path.

The priorities and conditions highlighted by each of the delegations, which state that the reaching of an agreement at the talks may run into difficulties if these points are not taken into account, are now known. For the Soviet side one of the key questions is to ensure a close correlation between the 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons and mandatory observance of the existing Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. The U.S. position is tilting noticeably toward the development and introduction of strict measures for reciprocal verification and monitoring of fulfillment even at an early stage of the operation of the future treaty on strategic offensive weapons.

The first contacts between journalists and the heads of the Soviet and U.S. delegations at the talks and their statements after their arrival in Geneva give the impression that both participants in the opening round this time have substantial packages of fresh proposals and initiatives.

Biden's 'Concern' on U.S. Stance

PM2306150589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 5

[A. Blinov dispatch: "United States: A Change of Priorities?"]

[Text] Washington—Will the treaty on 50-percent reduction of USSR and U.S. strategic arsenals remain one of U.S. diplomacy's priority tasks?

This is the question observers are asking in the context of reports about the instructions approved by the White House for the U.S. delegation in Geneva. According to newspaper reports, the instructions—the result of almost 6 months of analysis and discussion among leading administration experts—order U.S. delegation head

Ambassador R. Burt to put forward a so-called plan for comprehensive verification and inspections. It is supposed to be implemented even before the agreement is signed.

According to one version of this plan—which has not been officially published—R. Burt is to propose carrying out inspections at Soviet plants producing ballistic missiles and taking a count of nuclear warheads actually on missiles. At the same time, the ambassador has supposedly not yet received clear instructions on how, in the U.S. opinion, questions without which it would be impossible to reach agreement should be resolved: observance of the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, and on the limitation of mobile ballistic missiles, and sea-launched cruise missiles.

Is it not likely that, instead of a 50-percent reduction of strategic arsenals, the talks will produce only a system of monitoring and inspections which would not strengthen the two sides' security? And generally speaking, has the U.S. Administration's attention not shifted to other areas of talks on disarmament, like the conventional arms reduction sphere for example, to the detriment of the Geneva talks? These questions are now being asked not only by the U.S. press but also by eminent U.S. legislators.

What is the meaning of the new administration's attempt to "make its mark" on the process of strategic arms talks?—this question was addressed to the administration by J. Biden, member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. In his opinion, the White House's new approach clearly differs from the already established scheme of the talks at Geneva. He recalls that, under the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the monitoring procedure was introduced after the treaty itself was signed. Why has it become necessary to demand inspections of plants for the production of Soviet missiles outside the context of concluding an agreement on strategic arms?—J. Biden asks. Is the Soviet side not entitled to pose a counterdemand to visit U.S. plants?

"I cannot but be worried," J. Biden declares, "by the administration's motives. Is it not committing a serious mistake by trying to change the already established scheme of talks? Is this not likely to become an end in itself? This could serve only to draw attention away from questions demanding solution, for which the administration is not yet ready. Will this not lead to a deadlock at the talks, as recommended by Dr Kissinger?" All this, in J. Biden's words, gives grounds for concern which the White House must dispel.

Nuclear Test Ban Talks Open 26 Jun

LD2406110889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1031 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] Geneva, 24 Jun (TASS)—The USSR delegation arrived here today to participate in the routine fourth round of the Soviet-U.S. full-scale talks on the limitation and cessation of nuclear tests, which opens on 26 June. Igor Palenykh, head of the delegation, said at the Geneva airport that the Soviet Union attaches particular importance to a rapid and cardinal solution to the problem of nuclear tests and will invariably seek their complete cessation.

He noted that during the negotiations the parties managed to achieve considerably closer positions and were very close to agreeing on a draft verification protocol to the 1974 agreement on the limitation of underground nuclear tests. The Soviet delegation is ready to complete that work during the present round and expressed the hope that the same applies to the U.S. side.

Aims of Test Talk Delegation

LD2506182189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 25 Jun 89

[Text] Tomorrow, 26 June, the Soviet-U.S. negotiations on the limitation and cessation of nuclear tests resume in Geneva, after a break caused by a change in the U.S. Administration. Agreement to resume was reached at the May meeting between comrade Shevardnadze and Secretary of State Baker in Moscow.

On the eve of the talks, Vladimir Pasko, diplomatic correspondent of All-Union Radio, met Comrade Palenykh, head of the USSR delegation at the talks. This is what he stated.

[Begin Palenykh recording] I would like to stress that the Soviet side is, as previously, ready for a most radical solution to the problem of nuclear tests—for a complete and immediate cessation of them. This is the fundamental line of the Soviet Union which determines all our practical actions in this sphere. We intend to use all opportunities for progress toward this goal, along the paths of both multilateral and bilateral negotiations.

At the Soviet-U.S. negotiations which are resuming we will strive—as a first stage—for a very swift and successful conclusion to the work to prepare for ratification the 1974 Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapons Tests, and the 1976 Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes. There is a foundation for this. Last year considerable work was done in this area at the Geneva talks. The coordination, at delegation level, of a verification protocol [kontrolnyy protokol] for the 1976 treaty was concluded. Taking into account the results of the Joint Verification Experiment conducted at the Nevada and Semipalatinsk test ranges in August and September 1988, the sides actively set about the development and coordination of a verification protocol to the 1974 treaty. All of this makes it possible to move forward at a rapid rate.

As it sets out for Geneva, the Soviet delegation has instructions to bring this work to its conclusion in the shortest time possible. An opportunity would thus open

up for submitting the 1974 and 1976 threshold treaties for ratification, and for immediately moving on to the next stage of the negotiations: the development, in conjunction with the United States, of accords on further limitations on the yield and number of nuclear tests as an important step on the way toward completely halting them.

We are convinced that at present, real possibilities have been created for achieving substantial progress at full-scale Soviet-U.S. negotiations. The Soviet delegation is prepared for a constructive, businesslike dialogue with the U.S. side. [end recording]

Commentator on U.S. Position

LD2406104989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0300 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Vladimir Pasko commentary]

[Text] Citing the U.S. Department of Energy, the UPI press agency reported another nuclear test planned for today in Nevada. This will be the seventh U.S. nuclear weapons test since the beginning of this year. Moreover, the last explosion was conducted only on Thursday. It cannot be overlooked that all this is happening on the eve of the resumption of Soviet-U.S. negotiations in Geneva on limiting and stopping nuclear tests. Over to Commentator Vladimir Pasko:

[Pasko] It long has been noticed that the United States has been intensifying tests in Nevada on the threshold of negotiations on their limitation, but formally there is nothing here for which they can be reproached. For the time being we have a treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space, and underwater—the 1963 Moscow Treaty. Unfortunately, there is not yet a ban on such tests underground. To be sure, in 1974 and 1976 the Soviet Union and the United States reached agreement on limiting the yield of underground nuclear explosions. One treaty applies to military explosions and the other to peaceful ones. Both sides are adhering to the accords, but they still do not have legal force. The United States has refused to ratify them, justifying this by the lack, in their view, of reliable verification methods.

The issue of agreeing on such methods even today is the subject of Soviet-U.S. negotiations on limiting and halting nuclear tests. In the 1 and ½ years since their resumption, the sides have managed to make significant progress in bringing their positions together. Last year, the Soviet Union and the United States successfully conducted a joint experiment at test sites in Nevada and Semipalatinsk. It facilitated the preparation of a document that was considered on both sides to insure a basis for agreeing on verification measures. On completion of the third round of negotiations in December, the sides stated that they intended to maintain the high tempo when they resumed.

Will this intention be implemented? Setting out the USSR position on this issue a few days ago, Comrade Gorbachev again stated that we support the idea of extending the application of the 1963 Moscow Treaty banning nuclear tests in three environments to underground tests, and that we still are prepared at any moment to declare a moratorium on all nuclear tests on the basis of reciprocity with the United States. A statement on this from the United States has not ensued.

We must assume, as has already been the case regarding conventional forces and nuclear and space weapons, that they will set out their position only in the course of negotiations. We will not try to guess what it will be, but there is something worth paying attention to. A solution to the problem of nuclear tests cannot be delayed, and this does not concern the Soviet Union and the United States alone. More and more countries are already on the threshold of producing nuclear weapons of their own. The danger of such a development is obvious. Forty countries have officially demanded that a conference of the participants of the 1963 Moscow Treaty be held, with the aim of halting underground nuclear tests. A very impressive group of U.S. legislators came out in favor of this in May: 23 senators and 142 members of the House of Representatives signed a special message to the President on this point.

It is perfectly obvious that the road to the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons lies through banning efforts to improve them. This is not simply a statement of fact. It is already a demand of reality.

Batsanov Addresses Plenary Session in Geneva

PM2306122789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "At the Disarmament Conference"]

[Text] Geneva, 22 Jun—Security must be ensured primarily by political means, Soviet delegation head S.V. Batsanov declared addressing today's plenary session of the disarmament conference.

This is one of the fundamental principles of Soviet foreign policy laid down in the USSR Congress of People's Deputies message to the peoples of the world. Soviet policy in the disarmament sphere is also built on this principle.

Expressing gratification with the positive trends gathering momentum in the development of international relations, the Soviet representative drew delegates' attention to the need to keep outer space free from weapons and to make more active use of multilateral diplomacy for this purpose, especially of the disarmament conference, as M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, emphasized in his message to the leaders of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Tanzania, and Sweden on the occasion of the 5th anniversary of the six countries' initiative for peace and disarmament. The

Soviet delegation hopes that the current summer session of the conference will achieve real progress in implementing the appeal by the Paris international conference on the banning of chemical weapons regarding the earliest possible conclusion of work to prepare a convention on the total and universal prohibition of chemical weapons and the elimination of stockpiles.

The Soviet delegation head spoke in favor of the disarmament conference's setting up a working organization to urgently tackle the question of a complete and universal ban on nuclear weapons tests, which is of paramount importance. The conference's work on preventing an arms race in space must also be stepped up.

UK, U.S. Reportedly Sign 'Secret' Arms Accord

LD2406034289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1418 GMT 23 Jun 89

[TASS correspondent Yuriy Levchenko report]

[Text] London, 23 Jun (TASS)—Great Britain and the United States have signed a secret agreement on cooperation in developing a new air-launched British cruise missile. This was reported by the journal JANES DEFENSE WEEKLY.

The bilateral agreement was signed at the beginning of the year at the intergovernmental level. It sanctions participation by the U.S. military corporations "Boeing Aerospace" and "Martin Marietta" in the design of a new air-launched tactical missile for the Royal Air Force meant to replace the nuclear bombs with which the British "Tornado" bombers are now equipped.

An examination of the designs presented on a competitive basis is planned for next year. It is expected that [words indistinct] will start being fitted out in 1992.

The journal notes that the Anglo-U.S. project "is aimed at achieving NATO's long-term aims." Observers believe that the essence of this is to foist onto West European countries by any means possible the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons. JANES DEFENSE WEEKLY notes that the purpose of this plan is also to "forestall the opponents" of the modernization of NATO's nuclear forces by placing before them a fait accompli.

The very fact of the conclusion of the Anglo-U.S. agreement explains why the British Government has recently been advocating so resolutely the modernization of NATO'S nuclear weapons and has been so against further measures to eliminate missiles in Europe and the so-called "dual purpose" NATO aircraft not being included in the plan, which was proposed by U.S. President G. Bush and approved by a session of the NATO council, on reducing the armed forces and arms of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty.

The journal notes that the practical step taken by the British Government to modernize its nuclear weapons "will have strategic and political consequences inside the country and abroad." In its own words, "although the agreement is strictly bilateral its consequences will have an effect not only on the internal political situation in the United Kingdom but also on the situation in Europe, transatlantic relations, and relations between the East and West." "As one specialist noted, says the journal, this decision signifies a repudiation of Anglo-French and pan-European cooperation in the sphere of defense in favor of dependence on the United States...The opposition Labor Party is hostile toward the idea of modernizing nuclear weapons and in all probability will oppose the new plan. It also draws criticism from the Soviet Union which believes that the proposed modernization of the "Lance" ground-based nuclear missiles violates the spirit of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles."

Paris Humanitarian Conference Draws to a Close

PM2306114189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jun 89 p 3

[Dispatch by own correspondent N. Dolgopolov: "Passions in Paris: The Work of the Humanitarian Conference Draws to a Close in the French Capital"]

[Text] Paris—The conference has now moved from the ancient building of the Sorbonne, where the first sessions were held, to Foreign Ministry premises in the Avenue Kleber. The ceremonial element is now over, and the period of very strenuous work has begun.

Not a lot of time has elapsed since the adoption of the Final Document at the Vienna meeting of representatives of CSCE states. But the new mechanism, which envisages bilateral and multilateral consultation, the exchange of information, and collaboration, is already functioning. Conference participants have been trying to clarify whether it is doing so effectively and efficiently enough. Various problems concerned with deepening humanitarian and legal cooperation on the continent are under discussion. 33 European powers, Canada, and the United States have submitted several dozen proposals for discussion. And it is a sign of the times that several of them were the product of East-West coauthorship—an unusual and previously inconceivable occurrence.

The Soviet and French delegations, for example, proposed as a very important and, of course, long-term, objective the transformation of Europe into a common rule-of-law state based on a community of rule-of-law states. In short, we and the French propose embarking within the CSCE framework on a comparative study of legislation, administrative rules, and court practice, to analyze the activity of the parliamentary and executive institutions of states, and then to start drawing up common legal norms.

The Soviet delegation's second proposal is even more specific. It concerns the further humanization of the sphere of consular relations and the holding of a special all-European forum on these problems. Its point is to ease the lives of each and everyone and arrange matters so that the consular services are transformed from citadels which sometimes have to be stormed into loyal and sincere assistants. This proposal has aroused interest.

The press conference conducted by a group of our people's deputies headed by F.M. Burlatskiy and V.V. Tereshkova also aroused interest. It lasted several hours. This is evidence of the attention paid and the fact that quite a few questions awaiting solution have accumulated. Delegation head Yu.B. Kashlev acted in a thoroughly businesslike way. There were no vague stances or abstract opinions in evidence. It happened that delegation members were unaware of the details on someone whose fate was of concern to those gathered in the hall. At Kashlev's request, the Soviet attache addressed the question right there at the press conference, noting the details and names so that the problem could be investigated as quickly as possible.

A group of Soviet refuseniks were also in the hall. They had failed to obtain permission to leave the USSR for good not at all for reasons of secrecy. Certain relations had not given their assent. I talked with these mainly young people. They had registered in Paris via the Visa and Registration Department and received permission to come pretty quickly—which is clear confirmation of the significance of our changes. Here they have been able to express their standpoint and receive an answer.

I will not be in error if I say that the hall was very surprised at the figure announced by Kashlev: Only 191 people—that is, 0.5 percent refusal—had been refused permission to leave, for the most diverse reasons, in the first 4 months of 1989. F.M. Burlatskiy elaborated: The period of so-called secrecy is under review. It will clearly not exceed 5 years.

However, as Yu.B. Kashlev repeatedly stressed, the Soviet delegation in Paris does not at all intend to adopt a meek and mild stance. "We do not agree with the didactic tone that certain Western states use when they try to talk to us"—he said firmly.

The conference in Paris ends 23 June. Its second stage will be held in Copenhagen 5 through 29 June 1990. The humanitarian conference's third meeting will take place in Moscow 10 September through 4 October 1991.

'Observers Roundtable' Examines Current Affairs

LD2506154189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 25 Jun 89

["International Observers Roundtable" program presented by Boris Andrianov, foreign political commentator, with Vadim Borisovich Kassis, editor-in-chief of GOLOS RODINY newspaper and OTCHIZNA magazine, and Viktor Nikolayevich Levin, foreign political commentator]

[Text] [Andrianov] Despite the diversity of international events, there is every reason for saying that in this week, too, the tone has been set by Moscow: Suffice it to mention the talks which Soviet leaders had with Hashemi-Rafsanjani, speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly of Iran and with Admiral Crowe, chairman of the U.S. Armed Forces Joint Chiefs of Staff; and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's reply to the leaders of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Tanzania, and Sweden in which he expresses not merely complete agreement with the initiatives of the six but confirms the sincere desire of the Soviet Union to move forward actively along the road consolidating peace and disarmament. These events alone are enough to confirm the vigorous and initiative-filled activity of the Soviet Union over the widest spectrum of international relations.

[Kassis] The following should also be added to what you have said, the fact that this week the CPSU Central Committee Politburo examined the results of the visit by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to the FRG. The Politburo noted that this visit was an important event in relations between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic and had acquired an all-European significance. During the visit you were in Bonn, Viktor Nikolayevich, and you took part in reporting it. The cards are in your hands, as they say.

[Levin] On this occasion, you know, life again confirms that large things can only be seen from a distance. During Mikhail Sergeyevich's stay in the FRG attention was concentrated on the events that were taking place, the talks, the meetings, the speeches to different audiences including speeches to citizens of the country who gave the Soviet leader a warm reception. The process of interpreting and analyzing the work that has been done has now begun. In the first place, of course, the joint statement signed by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Hulmut Kohl, FRG chancellor, must be mentioned. As noted in the CPSU Central Committee Politburo decision, this document represents a broad conceptual foundation for relations between the USSR and the FRG for years to come stemming from the principles of the new political thinking and taking into account in proper fashion the realities of the present times and the strengthening tendencies for the division of Europe to be overcome. I would note that Mikhail Sergeyevich stressed repeatedly during his stay in the FRG that we are proceeding from the realities: And on one occasion—it was at the press-conference in Bonn—he even said that we adhere to a position of tough realism. That is to say we have to take into account the things that exist because they exist, irrespective of whether we like them or whether we do not like them very much, irrespective of whether we have a greater or a lesser amount of affection for them. No doubt our listeners have already noticed that we now decipher the abbreviation FRG not as the Federal Republic of Germany but as the Federal Republic—Germany. That is what it is called in actual fact and that is what we too have started to call it.

[Andrianov] It is a correct observation to say that one can move toward good-neighborly relations and advance along the road of building a common European home only upon taking realities into account.

[Kassis] Since you have mentioned the common European home I think it would be appropriate to talk about the election to the European Parliament which took place last Sunday.

[Levin] Yes, that was an exceptional event. I was fortunate enough to see these elections on 18 June. Quite honestly, I got the impression that they did not give rise to any great enthusiasm amongst the voters, and the figures published this week on voter participation confirm my impression. In a number of countries the number of people voting was hardly more than 50 percent. But nevertheless I would still take the risk of assessing the elections as a substantial step along the road of the development of the political integration of the 12 West European countries. Despite the fact we have already noted—that many voters did not take part in the voting, I don't rule out that the excellent weather tempting people outdoors may have had a part to play in this—well, despite this a recent public opinion poll showed that a majority of the population of the 12 common market countries have a positive attitude toward the European Parliament: 55 percent of those questioned think it plays a very important or important role in the life of the EEC, while 44 percent would like this role to increase.

[Andrianov] I imagine that this would be an appropriate time to remind our listeners of what the European Parliament is and what its functions are. Without going back a long way in history I would observe that the first general direct elections to the European parliament took place in 1979. The seats there are allocated according to population in the countries belonging to the EEC. In specific terms it looks like this: Great Britain, Italy, France and the FRG send 81 deputies each; Spain sends 60; the Netherlands sends 25; and Belgium, Greece, and Portugal send 24 each. Denmark sends 16, Ireland sends 15, and Luxembourg sends 6.

[Kassis] It is also worth adding that for a long time the European Parliament, like the assembly of the European Communities which preceded it, possessed only consultative rights. That means it was able to give advice but no one was required to take any notice of that advice. Now the situation has changed somewhat. The European Parliament has been given the right to monitor the budgetary and financial activity of the Common Market. Recently the deputies of the European Parliament have been given the possibility in principle to amend proposals put forward by the EC Commission. The European Parliament also has the right to support or reject the candidature of a country wishing to enter the Common Market and to forbid the granting of aid to a state which is not a member of the EEC. One can say that the trend for the rights of the European Parliament to be expanded is gaining strength and this is giving it a more important role.

[Levin] But let's return now to the results of the elections which took place last week. Some of the countries voted on Thursday, but the majority of them voted on Sunday. What did these results show? According to available figures, the socialist parties achieved a notable success. They will have 182 seats, which is 16 more than they had in the previous Parliament. Incidentally let me say that altogether there are 518 seats in the Parliament. In second place is the bloc of Christian Democratic parties. It has 107 seats, 5 fewer. Then there are the Communist Parties with 42 seats, 6 fewer than before.

I would like to dwell on this result in somewhat greater detail because the total figure does not reflect the whole diversity of colors in the picture: While the recent elections

turned out to be unsuccessful for the Communists in a number of elections—that unfortunately, is what happened in France, for example—in Italy the Communist Party considers itself victorious. One leader of the Italian Communist Party wrote in L'UNITA that the party had achieved clear success for the first time in recent years marking the turning back of negative tendencies.

Now for the results of the elections for the other political forces. Representatives of ecological organizations advanced very firmly. They will have 38 seats which is nearly twice as many—18 more, in fact—as their previous representation. And if one looks now at the figures that have been given one can conclude that the parties and organizations which are in favor of solving social and ecological problems in the interests of the working people now have a solid majority in the European Parliament. And this is a fundamental issue, for the creation of a single market for the 12 countries is due to be completed in 1992.

In this connection the question arises of the unification of the social legislation in these states. It is a very complicated issue because the situation varies greatly. In the FRG, for example, the working people have achieved considerably more than have their Portuguese colleagues and the question is a very complex one for it has to be decided on what basis the unification is to be implemented. The employers are firmly of the opinion that the approach must be one of bringing things toward the median, that is to say some people have to have less so that others can apparently be given more. But the left wing forces, including all the socialist parties, consider that the approach is wrong in principle. They are in favor of the widest social rights of the working people being taken as the criterion. And now when the socialists and the communists and the ecologists who support them on this issue have more than 260 of the 518 seats, the opportunities for defending the interests of the working people are growing noticeably. In this respect the left-wing forces have every reason to describe the results of the elections as a great success.

[Andrianov] But a different and clearly discordant note is interfering with that optimistic one. The elections to the European Parliament were also marked by definite success for right-wing forces. Attention is being drawn to this in the FRG and in France where the right-wingers moved forward particularly vigorously. They call themselves by various names, most frequently republicans. However, this camouflaging title conceals extreme right-wing, neo-Nazi and neo-fascist groupings. Of course it is possible to say and it has to be said that these groupings are speculating in a fairly clever way on the social problems, things like unemployment, housing difficulties, and so on in the FRG even: But in no way can one take comfort from the fact that all these extreme right-wingers are politically ignorant people. One can say directly that the aggravation of social problems is adding grist to the mill of those on the extreme right and that their position could become even stronger if these problems are not solved. So we have something to think about here and it is gratifying that in the FRG, for example, where the extreme right has achieved particular success, having won more than seven percent of the votes, many prominent politicians are raising the question of the need for a revision of those elements in the government's policy on which the neo-Nazis have been able to win popularity. So the results of the elections to the European Parliament are far from straighforward: They reflect a complicated picture of political life in the 12 EC countries.

[Kassis] We have already mentioned at the beginning of our conversation the visit to the Soviet Union by Hashemi-Rafsanjani. Soviet people have never been indifferent toward events in Iran. There have been many different reasons for this. The main one of them, however, lies in the fact that we are neighbors. Geography and history have arranged things in such a way that the Soviet Union and Iran can be said to have been doomed to live in peace, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev once stated, to live as good neighbors and to cooperate. True, things have not always gone well with us in the past. There have been times when the Soviet-Iranian frontier was turned into a blind wall. But even during the most difficult periods our position has been a carefully considered one because we were convinced that good-neighborly relations and wide cooperation for the well-being of the peoples of both countries were essential. We have always, therefore, been very much affected by what has been taking place in recent times in Soviet-Iranian relations.

[Levin] A qualitatively new stage in our relations with Iran was marked out at the beginning of this year. Perhaps you remember how Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev received Ayatollah Javadi-'Amoli, the personal representative of the Imam Ruhollah al-Musavi Khomeyni, the leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran, in the Kremlin on 4 January. He noted the interest of the Iranian leaders in developing good-neighborly relations with the Soviet Union. Handing to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev a message from the Imam Khomeyni, Javadi-'Amoli stressed that this was the Iranian leader's first personal message to the head of another state. It was a sign of respect for the Soviet Union and of the desire for dialogue between the leaders of the two countries.

The mutual exchange of messages set the start for active Soviet-Iranian dialogue. Perhaps it is sufficient to recall that during the first 5 months of this year alone four meetings took place between the ministers of foreign affairs of the Soviet Union and Iran. These contacts, alongside other considerable preparatory work, preceded the official visit by 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani which took place this week at the invitation of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. He is speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly and is also fulfilling the duties of supreme commander in

chief of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Before his departure from Tehran for Moscow he made a press statement in which he noted the importance of the visit for the two neighboring countries. Hashemi-Rafsanjani expressed the hope that a new page in relations between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Soviet Union would be opened as a result of this visit.

[Andrianov] Perhaps one might now even say that a new chapter has been opened in the history of Soviet-Iranian relations. At any rate, that is what has been shown by the results of the talks, and the talks were very intensive in character and without any doubt were extremely productive. It is indicative that both sides reached understandings that were specific and large-scale. That is to say the discussion at the negotiating table did not just amount to beating about the bush as it's often put: It was of substance, thorough, dealing with the essentials of the problems under discussion and taking a wide view of the real state of affairs. And both sides agreed that never before have there been such opportunities for expanding cooperation between our two neighboring states. The accords reached reveal prospects for a new stage in cooperation which is in the interests not just of our two peoples but of the region and the world as a whole.

[Kassis] And it has to be noted that these accords have been set down in the appropriate documents which have summed up the results of the talks. The main final political document is the declaration on the principles of relations between the Soviet Union and Iran. At first sight it seems to be somewhat laconic—it contains just six points. All of them are capacious as regards their content, however, and of considerable weight in their importance for our relations. And this is what is noteworthy: The declaration puts into the foreground the importance of developing good-neighborliness. In this document one can clearly see the solid foundation that has been laid down for the long-term development of links between the two countries. That is significant.

[Levin] No less significant, I would say, is the long-term program which has been signed for trade and economic and scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and Iran covering the period up to the year 2000. It draws attention to itself in its unusual content. This important document defines the framework of the active interaction of the two countries in 15 branches of the national economy, science and technology, finance, space, and the use of nuclear energy. Such a wide spectrum of different areas of cooperation, envisaged over a long period of time, shows graphically both to the peoples of the two countries and to the whole world that the two neighboring states are coming out jointly with serious and far-reaching plans for peaceful construction. This is of course a substantial factor of international significance.

During the Soviet-Iranian political dialogue which took place in Moscow those taking part in it agreed that the exchange of opinions and the talks were extremely useful. They have made it possible for both sides to approach the major issues of the present and future of Soviet-Iranian relations and to widen mutual understanding in international affairs. A number of major problems were defined in which the views of the Soviet and Iranian leaders are close or even coincide. Among these is the attitude toward Afghanistan as an independent and non-aligned, neutral state, friendly to all its neighbours. This is quite understandable, for the Afghan conflict, for a number of reasons, affects the Soviet Union and Iran most of all and most directly of all—first and foremost because Afghanistan is the common neighbor of both and when things aren't right in one's neighbour's house then those living next door feel a certain embarrassment as well.

[Kassis] Yes, the Iranian side has repeatedly expressed deep concern over the continuation of the war in Afghanistan and the active involvement of external forces in it. Official spokesmen for Tehran have confirmed Iran's interest in a peaceful settlement of the Afghan conflict. Our own position on this problem is well-known: As Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has said, we for our part are doing everything possible to enable the Afghan people finally to have peace and tranquility in their own home, to enable it to determine its destiny within the framework of a neutral, non-aligned and independent state by political means, through national reconciliation, and not fratricidal war. And if everyone fulfilled strictly the Geneva agreements that they signed and respected the resolution on Afghanistan adopted unanimously at the 43 UN General Assembly then that goal would certainly already have been achieved.

[Levin] Vadim Borisovich, you said if, and that is just it. But in Islamabad and Washington to all appearances they do not want this. There, as previously, they whip up the idea of removing the legitimate Afghan Government, that is, they continue to stick to their old line. And do you know what is curious? In the United States they are now attempting to explain why the predictions of the American would-be prophets on the speedy fall of the Kabul government have not been fulfilled. Recently I came across an article in the U.S. newspaper THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR. It said literally the following: The communist regime in Afghanistan has grasped the initiative, staying in power longer than predicted. This is being admitted by the U.S. supporters of the Afghan opposition. The author of the article writes of the obvious psychological crisis in the United States which has arisen after the predictions of the speedy fall of the Kabul regime proved to be false.

[Andrianov] Preparing for this present round table meeting, I found some statements of a similar type. According to a report by UPI, in the U.S. State Department a group of journalists was met by a member of the U.S. Administration. It was agreed that his name would not be mentioned. So, this anonymous representative of the official authorities declared that Washington had been mistaken in predicting the rapid fall of the Najibullah

Government and the truimphant victory of the mujahidin—whom the U.S. supports—as soon as Soviet troops left Afghanistan. Admitting that the Afghan mujahidin offensive had been an enormous failure, this unidentified person told journalists that things were going better for the Kabul regime than predicted.

[Kassis] I think, Boris Vasilyevich, anyone saying that is not saying anthing astounding. The course of events clearly shows that gambling on the use of force with regard to Afghanistan does not yield the results which external forces expect.

The legitimate government of the republic and its army have demonstrated resolution and readiness to defend the independence of the country themselves, without the participation of Soviet troops. How does one then explain that even in such a situation certain circles in Islamabad, and those who are behind them, continue their attempts to dictate terms to a sovereign state? The answer, I think, to this question should be looked for in the position of those who determine Afghan policy in Pakistan and the United States.

And there, the formation of this policy is, however, in the hands of enemies of a settlement. Judge for yourselves. In Washington, for example, they talk about the necessity of a political settlement of the Afghan problem. But how can you talk of a political settlement and at the same time repudiate one of the sides participating in the conflict—the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan? How can you talk about the peaceful resolution of the problem and simultaneously provide military aid to those who openly reject the possibility of such a resolution. You see in fact it works out that the provision of this aid means the continuation of the war. Consequently, it is impossible to achieve a political resolution of the problem. So Washington does not sound convincing when it claims to be striving for peace in Afghanistan.

[Levin] The manifestly negative aspects of such a political line are now so obvious that those who are developing it are forced to look for some kind of justification. This, for instance, is how the WASHINGTON POST attempted to explain why the U.S. State Department and the National Security Council, I am quoting THE WASHINGTON POST, are resisting changes in policy toward Afghanistan. The newspaper assures readers that all this is taking place among U.S. diplomats—continuity is allegedly considered a virtue. Undeniably, continuity is vital in politics, but only on condition that we mean the continuation and development of positive processes and not the repetition of old mistakes and following a course which has been refuted by real life.

[Kassis] It still remains for future historians to examine in all its details the major domestic political crisis which has just struck Japan. However it is now already clear that the decision of Prime Minister Takeshita to retire in connection with what is known as the Recruit affair is a consequence of a routine scandal about the bribery of politicians by powerful corporations. As one Western diplomat put it, and I will quote him, Japan is a first class economic power, but its misfortune lies in the fact that it uses a third-class political system. And this is how the storm in the Japanese parliament was evaluated by the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE. Having called Prime Minister Takeshita, who has gone into retirement, a god of the political game, the newspaper writes that he took the prime minister's chair at what seemed to be a cloudless time, but, alas fell victim himself to the imperfection of the machine whose every component he knew well.

[Andrianov] In my opinion quite an objective evaluation of the situation was given by the Tokyo political observer Sakamoto. Today, he considers, we are witnessing more than a political crisis: This is a crisis of ideas. He says: We have money, but we do not know how to make use of it. As everyone knows, Japan is rich, but no one knows what we shall use this wealth for. And if we look at the situation which has come about in Japan in broader terms, then we will see there the same struggle for political modernization which is taking place in many other Asian countries. Yet nevertheless, Japan is Japan: In this country power is concentrated among an elite which controls the political parties, industry, agriculture and the other spheres of public activity.

[Levin] And just because of this complex and hierarchical structure the Japanese prime minister possesses a much smaller share of power than his colleagues in other Asian states. And nevertheless only one Japanese prime minister, the late Miki, avoided political scandal during the time of his administration. And although Takeshita attempted to put a brave face on a sorry business for a certain time, his admission of the receipt of bribes in shares and money totalling 200 million yen put an end to his prime ministership.

[Andrianov] One must say that it has long become practice among Japanese businessmen to carry out operations like Recruit. They are ready to bribe politicians in exchange for their official permission to enter into some particular area of business and conclude sizeable contracts for implementing this or that project. Thus the present events have put before the country's public what has long been a sore problem—the financing of parties by corporations. And it is not by accident that observers almost unanimously note that the power of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party relies above all on a close alliance between financial big-shots and skillful politicians.

[Levin] As has already been stated, the organs of the Tokyo prosecutors office declared at the end of May the conclusion of the investigation into the Recruit affair which had gone on for 260 days. This decision by the Prosecutors office provoked a mixed reaction in the political world of the country. Those leaders of the ruling party entangled in the affair breathed a sigh of relief because the investigators failed to find enough reasons to take them to court.

At the same time representatives of the parties of the parliamentary opposition and the mass democratic organizations of the country saw the cessation of the investigation as evidence of an attempt to hush up a scandal. A statement by the Socialist and Communist Parties emphasizes that this step by the Prosecutor's office merely facilitates the concealment from the people of the unparalleled corruption in which both the upper reaches of government and the ruling party of Japan have become bogged down.

[Kassis] For over a month the leadership of the Japanese conservatives, possessing a stable majority in parliament, were not able to decide the candidature of the new leader. In the end he was appointed. Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno became the prime minister.

[Andrianov] The press accepted his appointment in different ways. On the one hand tribute was paid to his experience in the diplomatic and political field, but on the other hand his fragile position within the Liberal Democratic Party was noted. That is why the opposition describes the new cabinet as weak and ephemeral, and even temporary.

[Levin] But however that may be, the new head of government has already presented his program speech to parliament. He considers his first task to be to renew the policy of the ruling party and conduct a political reform in order to purge that policy of corruption. The Prime Minister further remarked that the Japanese Government intends to build its activity on the world arena based on the facts that Japan is on the one hand, one of the leading industrial democracies of the West—they formulate it thus in Tokyo—and, on the other hand an Asian and Pacific power.

Uno emphasized in his speech firm commitment to the Japanese- U.S. agreements in the military field, although he expressed the intention of the government to follow the path of setting up a moderate defensive potential.

[Kassis] Commentating on the parliamentary speech, observers remark sceptically that the cabinet is new, but the course is the old one. And even more food for thought was provided by the report of elections to the upper chamber of the Japanese Parliament planned for 23 July.

[Levin] It should be remarked that for the beginning of the pre-election marathon the newspaper TOKYO SHIMBUN carried out a public opinion poll. Half of those questioned simply refused to support the new government of the Liberal Democratic Party.

[Andrianov] The time for our meeting has run out. All its participants thank you for your attention, esteemed comrade listeners. Goodbye, all the best.

United States & Canada

U.S. View on Iranian Relations Assessed

LD2506173489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1310 GMT 25 Jun 89

[From the "International Panorama" program, presented by Gennadiy Gerasimov]

[Text] Hello comrades! We will be acquainting you with several paradoxes today with which international life continues to surprise us. However, these paradoxes are such only against the background of our own dogmas and prejudices. If one lacks open-mindedness toward other points of view, which until recently rejoiced under the title of ideological toughness, then today's program will be instructive.

'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the speaker of the Majlis of the Islamic Republic of Iran, visited us. New horizons are opening up in Iranian-Soviet relations in spite of very different ideologies. Some observers, who base their views on habitual, black and white schemes, could criticize us there for a certain departure from principles. Other observers, who base their views on abstract norms of morality common to all mankind, could criticize us for a certain moral relativism, and not only in the case of the rapprochement with Iran, but in a number of other cases, of which there have been many in recent days and which there have always been and will always be in international life. But if we want to save the world from disaster, then we have to deliver interstate relations from ideological quarrels and shake out the crusader spirit. We must not submit to the temptation of taking the stance of holder of the ultimate truth, even if we are convinced of our rightness—how many times have we been certain, and then things turned out differently? Ideological conceit and our dogmatism have caused us plenty of trouble.

For a fuller picture, I say that another country has had this illness, and even it seems to have remained. Let's say a declaration is published on the principles of relations and friendly cooperation between the Soviet Union and Iran, but the United States get worried. The State Department expresses its concern. The argument is even resurrected in the press that the Russian tsars' dream of gaining an outlet to warm waters is coming to pass. Why should the United States get worried? Iran is far away; the pro-U.S. shah has been gone for a long time; and the Irangate scandal remains a thorn in the side of political circles in Washington and scarcely accords with the current U.S. position of righteousness. And why should warm waters be for the Americans, while we only have cold ones, even Arctic? Although we, of course, accept our geography as a constant. We have to live with it.

Or, say the joint Soviet-West German statement is published, and again the United States gets worried, gets jealous of its NATO ally's relations with us and alleges that we have seduced it. All of this is a manifestation of thinking in the old way, in black and white, in terms of us and them, the other side gets more, so we get less—as if there were no common interest and a balance of interests. How can a common language be found here? Meetings of intellectuals with a command of thoughts and words and people of action who know the ins and outs are helpful. One such meeting has, as it were, continued the Soviet-West German dialogue.

China

PRAVDA Reports Chinese Leadership Changes

PM2506152089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jun 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "CPC Central Committee Plenum Decisions"]

[Text] Beijing, 24 Jun—The 4th Plenum of the CPC Central Committee, 13th convocation, was held in Beijing 23-24 June. The plenum elected Jiang Zemin general secretary of the CPC Central Committee.

The XINHUA information report announces the following changes in the CPC's top leadership:

Zhao Ziyang is released from all leadership duties in the CPC;

Jiang Zemin, Song Ping, and Li Ruihuan are elected members of the CPC Central Committee Politburo Standing Committee;

Li Ruihuan and Ding Guangen become members of the CPC Central Committee Secretariat;

Hu Qili is removed from the CPC Central Committee Politburo Standing Committee, the CPC Central Committee Politburo, and the CPC Central Committee Secretariat.

Rui Xingwen and Yan Mingfu are removed from the CPC Central Committee Secretariat.

XINHUA published an account of the plenum communique. Zhao Ziyang, the document says, has been removed from the posts of general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo Standing Committee, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo, and first deputy chairman of the CPC Central Committee Military Council. "The examination of his case will continue," the communique notes.

The plenum heard and adopted a report "On the Mistakes Made by Comrade Zhao Ziyang in the Course of Antiparty, Antisocialist Disorders," delivered on behalf of the CPC Central Committee Politburo by Li Peng, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo Standing Committee.

The plenum communique emphasizes the continuity of the main line of concentrating efforts on economic building and commitment to the policy of upholding the four key principles and the policy of reforms and external openness.

The plenum reaffirmed the unchanging nature of China's independent peace-loving foreign policy. "The PRC," the communique notes, "will continue to develop friendly relations with other countries on the basis of the five princples of peaceful coexistence and to contribute to the cause of peace."

The communique characterizes the plenum as "very important in the party's historical development."

The plenum, the communique stresses, called on the party and people "to rally around the CPC Central Committee and work steadily to overcome all difficulties and advance China along the path of socialist modernization and the development of the cause of reforms and external openness."

Publishes Jiang Zemin Biography
PM2506152289 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Jun 89 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Decision of the CPC Central Committee Plenum: The CPC Central Committee Plenum Held in Beijing Elected Jiang Zemin General Secretary of the CPC Central Committee"—item is accompanied by a head-and-shoulders photograph]

[Text] Jiang Zemin is a native of the city of Yangzhou in Jiangsu Province. In April 1946 he joined the ranks of the CPC and became involved in revolutionary work. In 1947 he graduated from the electrotechnical faculty at the Shanghai "Jiaotong" Polytechnical Institute. From 1949 he was engaged in economic work in Shanghai.

In 1955 he was sent to the ZIS Motor Vehicle Plant in Moscow for practical work. After his return to China in 1956, he was deputy chief power engineer at the First Motor Vehicle Plant in Changchun and director of its energy plant, then deputy director of the Shanghai Scientific Reserach Institute of Electrical Equipment under the PRC First Ministry of Machine Building. Later he held the post of director and acting secretary of the party committee of the Wuhan Scientific Research Institute of Thermal Engineering under the PRC First Ministry of Machine Building and was chief of the First Ministry of Machine Building Foreign Affairs Administration.

From 1980 he was deputy chairman of the State Committee for the Management of Imports and Exports, then deputy chairman and at the same time chief of the Secretariat of the State Committee for the Management of Foreign Investments. From 1982 he was minister and secretary of the party group of the leadership of the Ministry of the Electronics Industry. From 1985 he worked as deputy secretary of the Shanghai City CPC Committee and secretary of that committee, and was mayor of Shanghai.

Jiang Zemin was a member of the CPC Central Committee, 12th convocation. At the 1st Plenum of the CPC Central Committee, 13th convocation, he was elected member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo.

Correspondent Reports on CPC Leadership Changes
PM2606075389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
26 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent Yu. Savenkov dispatch: "Changes in CPC Leadership"]

[Excerpt] Beijing—The PRC mass media are continuing to comment on the results of the CPC Central Committee plenum that ended Saturday in the Chinese capital.

As has already been reported, [CPC Central Committee General Secretary] Zhao Ziyang has been relieved of all his leadership duties in the CPC.

The plenum examined and approved a report delivered by [State Council Premier] Li Peng on behalf of the CPC Central Committee Politburo on Zhao Ziyang's mistakes during the antiparty and antisocialist disturbances. "At a critical moment," the report states, "when the fate of the party and the state was being decided, Zhao Ziyang made mistakes which were expressed in support for the disturbances and the split in the party... The nature and consequences of his mistakes were very serious."

Although Zhao Ziyang, it went on to say, did do some useful work for the reforms and the open-door policy, as well as in economic work when he held leading posts in the party and the state, he was also quite clearly mistaken about the main thrust of practical work, particularly after he began leading the work of the CPC Central Committee. He took a passive stance on the question of adherence to the four basic principles (the socialist path; the leadership of the Communist Party; the democratic dictatorship of the people; Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought) and on opposition to bourgeois liberalization.

Jiang Zemin, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo, who had hitherto been first secretary of the party's Shanghai Municipal Committee, has been elected general secretary of the CPC Central Committee.

The plenum expressed its resolve to continue to follow the line, principles, and policy set out at the December 1978 Plenum, which marked the start of the policy of economic reform and opening to the world.

The independent foreign policy of peace and the readiness to develop friendly ties with other countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence were also reaffirmed. The plenum expressed confidence that

the "just struggle to supress the counterrevolutionary uprising will be understood by the peoples." The important role of the plenum in party history was stressed.

The 25 June issue of the newspaper RENMIN RIBAO front-pages photographs of Deng Xiaoping—whose contribution, along with that of other party veterans, during the severe political struggle of recent times was highly assessed by the Central Committee plenum—and of Jiang Zemin, who has been elected general secretary of the CPC Central Committee. Page two of the newspaper carries photographs of all six members of the new CPC Central Committee Politburo Standing Committee.

The Chinese people, the newspaper's editorial notes, have chosen socialism, and such a society can only be built within the framework of reforms and the open-door policy. RENMIN RIBAO expresses confidence that the newly elected party leadership will be able to lead China along precisely this road.

The plenum reaffirmed once again, RENMIN RIBAO notes, that there will be no return to the old, "closed" policy. Socialism is a historic necessity, but in order to reveal the advantages of the system we must follow the path of reform and improving socialism and imbibe everything valuable to be learned from abroad. The policy of reform is in line with the people's interests and the call of the times, and that is why the people support it. [passage omitted]

PRC Official Refutes Beijing Death Figures
PM2106082189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jun 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Situation in China"]

[Text] Beijing, 16 Jun—According to a XINHUA report, almost 20 percent of foreign businessmen who left Shanghai during the disturbances have returned to the city and are back at work.

The press reports that a campaign to study the speech by Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the PRC Central Military Council, delivered to troop command cadre workers involved in implementing martial law, has begun throughout the country.

In an interview with a XINHUA correspondent, a spokesman for the Chinese Red Cross Society refuted a report from foreign news agencies that 2,600 students and citizens of Beijing had been killed during the events of 4 June in the city.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Burmese Beam Warns of Danger of 'Confrontation'
BK2306094489 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1430 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Aleksandr Vladimirov: "Can Confrontation in Burma Be Averted?"]

[Text] An incident in which an active member of the Workers Unity Party was tragically killed and Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, leader of the National League for Democracy [NLD], was briefly detained, has cast doubts on the pledge given by General Saw Maung's government that it will hold multiparty general elections.

The Army allowed public gatherings during the funeral of Daw Khin Kyi, wife of General Aung San [and mother of Aung San Suu Kyi] and did not obstruct commemorative activities for students killed during March last year. However, observers believe that since then the military authorities have decided to take harsh action against those who violate the directives of the State Law and Order Restoration Council [SLORC].

It is quite natural that these activities should take place, despite the ban on public demonstrations and gatherings, if one considers it against the background of the government's pledge that it is preparing for democratic general elections. How then is the harsh action taken by the military authorities on 21 June to be interpreted? The stand taken by the SLORC is quite clear, and they say they stand by their pledge. But what of the opinion of other political parties in Burma?

On 19 June members of the All Burma Federation of Student Unions [ABFSU] and members of the NLD youth wing held a joint press conference for Burmese and foreign correspondents. Ko Nyo Tun, general secretary of the ABFSU, sharply criticized the recent action of the authorities in using the 1962 law to restrict the printing and distribution of publications by political parties and youth organizations. Ko Nyo Tun stressed that these harsh actions are being taken at a time when the political parties urgently need to establish communications with local organizations. He said because of the censorship applied to every leaflet and item of news disseminated by the parties, no communications could be established.

Ko Nyo Tun's statement also reflects criticism of the government's Election Law by opposition parties, including Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. Under these circumstances, there will be problems for many political parties in contesting the elections. These developments clearly show that the political situation is far from stable.

The latest unrest in Rangoon shows that the future course of the political struggle is uncertain and if the harsh restrictions placed on the democratic rights of the citizens are taken into consideration, then clearly there is

the potential for an undesirable outcome. Student leader Ko Nyo Tun expressed his concerns over such a possible outcome at the Rangoon press conference.

If the government does not remove the restrictions and continues to refuse to hold a dialogue with opposition parties and the students, he said they would wage a struggle to win satisfaction for their demands and might even establish a rival interim government. Can such confrontation be averted?

The solution to this problem lies with both the government and the opposition.

Vietnamese Defense Minister Leads Military Visit

Delegation Arrives in Moscow

BK2206151689 Hanoi VNA in English 1445 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Hanoi VNA June 22—A Vietnamese military delegation led by General Le Duc Anh, Politburo member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee and minister of national defence, arrived in Moscow on June 21 for an official visit to the Soviet Union.

The delegation was welcomed at Sheremetyevo 2 Airport by General Dmitriy Yazov, alternate Politburo member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Central Committee and defence minister, and other Soviet high-ranking officers.

After its arrival, the Vietnamese military delegation paid a floral tribute to V.I. Lenin at his mausoleum and laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

In the afternoon the Vietnamese military delegation led by Gen Le Duc Anh held talks with a Soviet delegation led by General D. Yazov.

During the talks the two sides informed each other of the process of renovation in their countries, the defence work and the cooperation and mutual assistance between the two armies. The two sides reaffirmed their determination to push up their cooperation aimed at consolidating peace and friendship in Asia and the Pacific and other parts of the world.

In the evening General Yazov gave a banquet in honour of the Vietnamese delegation.

Visits Troops, Military Academy

LD2206211189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1155 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow, 22 Jun (TASS)—The TASS diplomatic correspondent writes:

Army General Le Duc Anh, member of the vietnamese Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, who is in the Soviet Union at the invitation of Army General Dmitriy Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense, on a 6-day official and friendly visit, today visited the Taman Guard motorized rifle division, near Moscow. The guest was acquainted with the equipment and arms of the Soviet land forces and with the living conditions and way of life of motor riflemen. He also attended tactical exercises. General Le Duc Anh highly evaluated the war training of the guardsmen. "Each time that I have been among Soviet troops," he said, "I have not failed to be surprised at how competently and skillfully methodically field exercises are organized and conducted by commanders of all levels."

At the Kliment Voroshilov Military Academy of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, where Soviet officers and generals as well as those of allied armies are trained, the Vietnamese commander became acquainted with the organization of the academy's training process and its material and educational basis. He highly evaluated the contribution of the academy's collective in the training of highly qualified cadres for the Vietnamese Armed Forces.

The Vietnamese minister of defense also spent some time in the Central Museum of the USSR Armed Forces. He examined the many exhibits in this museum of military relics, which is unique in its way, and made an entry in the museum's book of honored guests.

General Le Duc Anh's visit is continuing.

Le Duc Anh Received by Yazov

LD2306180189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1645 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow, 23 June (TASS)—Army General Le Duc Anh, member of the Politburo of the Vietnamese Communist Party Central Committee and minister of national defense of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, who is in the Soviet Union on a 6-day official friendly visit, today met Army General Dmitriy Yazov, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR minister of defense. Bilateral relations and the ties between the armed forces of the USSR and Vietnam were examined.

"Soviet-Vietnamese relations have a long-standing and rich history," General Le Duc Anh told the TASS diplomatic correspondent. He added that these relations were shaped up under the influence of the ideas of Lenin and Ho Chi Minh. These relations are constantly developing and strengthening.

Each arrival in the Soviet Union, said the Vietnamese military leader, is a fresh meeting with friends and brothers. And there is nothing astounding in this: we are adhering to one aim—to achieve happiness and freedom for all people, the general noted. On the same day there

was a meeting between the defense minister of the Vietnamese Socialist Republic, Vietnamese servicemen studying in the USSR, and employees of the SRV Embassy in the USSR.

Tomorow the visitor will start a trip around the Soviet Union. He is scheduled to visit the legendary hero-city of Volgograd, the northern Caucasus town of Rostov-na-Dony and the Black Sea port town of Sevastopol.

Meets With Yakovlev

LD2306180489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1732 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow, 23 June (TASS)—Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, today met Le Duc Anh, member of the Politburo of the Vietnamese Communist Party Central Committee and minister of national defense of the SRV. In a warm and friendly conversation, they discussed matters pertaining to the development of Soviet-Vietnamese relations and the prospects for the normalization of intra-state relations in the Asian-Pacific region with the aim of strengthening the peace and security of all countries of this part of the globe.

Moscow Activities Reported

BK2306155989 Hanoi VNA in English 1501 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Hanoi VNA June 23—The Vietnamese military delegation led by General Le Duc Anh, Politburo member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee and defence minister, on a current visit to the Soviet Union, on Thursday [22 June] visited the Central Museum of the Soviet Armed Forces.

It also called at the Taman Motorized Infantry Division and was warmly welcomed by General V.I. Varenikov, vice-defence minister and commander-in-chief of the Soviet Army.

Also on Thursday, the Vietnamese guests toured the K.E. Voroshilov Institute of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces.

Interviewed on Troop Pullout

BK2606081589 Moscow International Service in Vietnamese 1000 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Report on interview with General Le Duc Anh by station correspondent on 23 June; place not given—Le Duc Anh's remarks recorded]

[Text] General Le Duc Anh, member of the CPV Central Committee Political Bureau and minister of national defense, is continuing his official friendship visit to the Soviet Union.

In an interview with Radio Moscow on 23 June, General Le Duc Anh expressed his sincere gratitude to members of the Soviet press and mass media for the fine feelings they have reserved for the Vietnamese people and the support they have given to Vietnam's just struggle.

Answering our Moscow Radio correspondent's question about the relations between the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union and Vietnam, the Vietnamese defense minister stressed:

[Begin recording] The relations between the Armed Forces of Vietnam and the Soviet Union are part and parcel of our two countries' long-lasting friendship which was established when President Ho Chi Minh set out to look for a way to save the country and then opted for the path traced by the October Revolution, and when President Ton Duc Thang joined the struggle against the French Army's repression of the October Revolution. Ever since then, that friendship has continually been consolidated and developed. It is my belief that continued efforts will be made to consolidate and develop that friendship. [end recording]

Responding to our Radio Moscow correspondent's question about the coming withdrawal of all Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, General Le Duc Anh said:

[Begin recording] The peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos are all victims of war of aggression. Therefore, we are always ready to help one another. The peoples of Cambodia and Laos have assisted our anti-U.S. national salvation struggle. Likewise, we have been motivated by the same sense of mutual assistance. Therefore, when the Cambodian people met with difficulties, we knew we were dutybound to assist them. This is normal because it involves our duty to help one another. Now that we have fulfilled our internationalist duty, all Vietnamese Army volunteers will be repatriated by September this year.

We feel very happy because we have fulfilled our internationalist duty in the spirit of mutual understanding and mutual assistance.

After returning home, we will continue our national construction and contribute to the Cambodian and Lao peoples' national construction. We hope we will do what we can to help put an end to the sufferings, the war, and killing in Cambodia. We hope that the international community will contribute to this aim and let the Cambodian people decide on their internal affairs, including their political regime and state system. Our aspiration before going home is that everyone contribute to preventing sufferings from recurring in Cambodia. [end recording]

Near East & South Asia

Iran's Hashemi-Rafsanjani Ends Visit to USSR

Further on Declaration on Relations

LD2306194189 Tehran IRNA in English 1932 GMT 23 jun 89

[Text] Tehran, June 23, IRNA—In addition to the joint communique which was released earlier today, Iran and

the Soviet Union also issued a 6-point declaration outlining principles of mutual relations and friendly cooperation.

Both sides stressed expansion of mutual ties on the basis of historical developments and were pleased to note the new phase in their relations.

The victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran on one hand and the advent of a new political thought in the Soviet Union on the other, provides the ground for expansion of good-neighbourly cooperation, "especially after the exchange of messages between the late leader of the Islamic revolution Imam Khomeyni and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev," they stressed.

The relation between Iran and the Soviet Union is based on the principles and ideals of the U.N. Charter and with due respect to each other's sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, not resorting to threat and force under any circumstances and peaceful settlement of all issues, said the declaration.

It added that both neighbours, will broaden multilateral ties in all sectors including the economic, commercial, technical and industrial fields and will explore new areas of cooperation such as research for peaceful use of nuclear energy.

The Soviets agreed to help Iran increase its defensive capability and cooperate in scientific and educational fields.

The two sides decided to promote better understanding of each other's spiritual values, culture, beliefs, traditions and customs. And to this end will exchange delegations of 'ulema and scholars.

The joint-declaration also laid emphasis on changing the present international economic system into a just one, and to do away with all kinds of discrimination including pressure levers.

The role of the U.N. in global of peace and relieving the world from aggression and military threat was spelled out, and the two agreed to collaborate to save the world from such lethal warfare as chemical, nuclear and other mass-killing weapons.

TASS Reports Joint Communique

LD2306182889 Moscow TASS in English 1730 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June 23 TASS—A Soviet-Iranian communique issued today described constructive and useful exchanges of opinions on bilateral relations as meeting the interests of both nations and being conducive to stronger peace and stability in the region and throughout the world.

The communique was adopted on the results of an official visit here by 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly and acting commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces of Iran.

The USSR and Iran, the document said, build and develop goodneighbourly relations on the principles of equality, preserving complete independence, mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in the domestic affairs of one another, ensuring mutual interests, and rejecting any forms of dependence of one state on the other.

The Soviet Union and Iran will develop economic, scientific, technological and commercial relations, as well as cooperation in other fields such as medical services and student and lecturer exchanges, on a long-term basis.

The two countries also called for considering the borders between them borders of friendship and cooperation.

As the issue of settling the Iran-Iraq conflict was discussed, the sides paid much attention to the progress of talks for implementing Resolution 598, which are being conducted under the aegis of the United Nations secretary-general, and expressed themselves for its realisation.

They voiced support for the U.N. secretary-general's four-point plan of October 1, 1988, which is directed at expediting the fulfilment of the resolution.

The Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, the communique said, should be made a zone of peace and calm free from all kinds of weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear and chemical arms, and the complete withdrawal of all the naval forces of foreign states should be a first step in this direction.

The sides reaffirmed the legitimate right of the people of Afghanistan to keep the historical Islamic identity of that country and its territorial integrity and expressed the common opinion about the right of the Afghan people to decide their destiny themselves without outside interference.

The sides also declared backing for an independent and non-aligned Is amic Afghanistan which will maintain friendly relations with its neighbours.

The Soviet Union and Iran went on record in support of the inalienable right of the people of Palestine to exercise self-determination. They emphasised the need for securing the withdrawal of occupation troops from the south of Lebanon without delay, preserving the national sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of that country, and implementing the political will of the Lebanese people.

'Text' of Communique Published

PM2606101989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 Jun 1989 Second Edition p 4

[Unattributed "text" of the joint communique issued on the completion of Iranian Majlis Speaker Rafsanjani's visit entitled "Soviet-Iranian Joint Communique"]

[Text] Moscow, 23 Jun—The full text of the joint Soviet-Iranian communique issued here today is as follows:

At the invitation of Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly and the acting commander in chief of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran, at the head of a high-ranking delegation, paid an official and friendly visit to the USSR 20-23 June 1989. During his stay in the USSR, 'A.A. Hashemi-Rafsanjani and his delegation visited Leningrad and Baku, in addition to Moscow, and inspected a number of scientific, cultural, and Islamic centers as well as industrial installations.

Throughout the course of the visit, the important guests were given a warm welcome, which reflects the interest and friendly feelings of the Soviet people toward the Iranian people. In Moscow, several rounds of talks between M.S. Gorbachev and 'A.A. Hashemi-Rafsanjani were held in an atmosphere of mutual understanding, during which Iranian-Soviet relations and regional and international issues of interest to both sides were touched upon. Simultaneously, there were working meetings between other official representatives of the two countries.

The present state of relations between the Soviet Union and Iran and their future outlook on the basis of accords reached between M.S. Gorbachev and 'A.A. Hashemi-Rafsanjani were carefully studied at the meeting between E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, and 'A.A. Velayati, foreign minister of the Iranian Islamic republic.

During the visit, M.S. Gorbachev and 'A.A. Hashemi-Rafsanjani signed declarations on the principles of relations and friendly cooperation between the USSR and the Iranian Islamic Republic and a long-term program for economic, commercial, scientific, and technical cooperation until the year 2000.

Also, on the level of ministers from the two countries, a commercial agreement and an agreement for the construction of the Mashhad-Serakhs-Tedzhen railway line were signed. These agreements were signed by K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, and N.S. Konarev, USSR minister of railways, on behalf of the USSR, and by M.J. Iravani, minister of economy and finance, on behalf of Iran.

Within the framework of this visit, a memorandum of mutual understanding was also signed by the two sides concerning consular affairs.

The two sides believe that the exchange of views about Soviet-Iranian relations was useful and constructive, and that this is in accord with the interests, aspirations, and national sovereignty of the peoples of the two countries, and also promotes the strengthening of peace and stability in the region and throughout the world.

The two sides announce that the USSR and the Islamic Republic of Iran are building and developing good-neighborly relations on the basis of equality, the safeguarding of complete independence, mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, ensuring mutual interests, and the rejection of any kind of dependence of one state on another.

The sides will expand on a long-term basis their economic, scientific, technical, and commercial relations as well as cooperation in other areas of mutual interest, especially issues connected with cooperation in the fields of hygiene and the exchange of teachers and students on a planned and contractual basis, on the above-mentioned principles.

The sides agreed to make efforts for the mutual understanding of cultural and spiritual values of the two countries, and better acquaintance of the Soviet and Iranian peoples with the life, culture, religious beliefs, and traditions and customs of mutual friendship through the exchange of scientific, cultural, and religious delegations and contacts between representatives of the peoples of the two countries.

The two sides spoke in favor of the borders between the two countries being called borders of friendship and cooperation. The issue of the settlement of the conflict between Iran and Iraq was discussed in detail in the talks between M.S. Gorbachev and 'A.A. Hashemi-Rafsanjani and the two sides. Great attention was paid to the course of the talks regarding the implementation of Resolution 598, under the aegis and with the assistance of the UN secretary general, and they called for the implementation of this resolution. In this connection, the sides expressed their support for the four-point plan of the UN secretary general, dated 1 October 1988, for speeding up the implementation of this resolution.

The two sides believe that the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean should be changed into a region of peace and calm, free from all weapons of mass annihilation, including nuclear and chemical weapons; and that, as a first step in this direction, there should be a complete withdrawal of all the navies of foreign states, and that the security and calm of the region should be provided by the littoral states.

The two sides, affirming the legitimate right of the people of Afghanistan to preserve that country's historical Islamic identity and its territorial integrity, expressed the joint opinion of the right of the people of that country to determine their fate without external interference. The two sides also announce their support for an independent, nonaligned and Islamic Afghanistan which will maintain friendly relations with its neighbors.

The sides, while expressing their full support for the just struggle and the uprising of the Palestinian people in the Palestinian territory, and while condemning all the oppressive measures against the Palestinian people, support their inalienable right for self-determination.

The sides, while supporting the just struggle of the Lebanese people for the immediate withdrawal of occupying forces from the south of that country, stress the need for preserving the territorial integrity, independence, and national sovereignty of Lebanon, and the need for implementation of the political will of the Lebanese people.

The sides, while condemning apartheid and racism in all its forms, support the struggle of the people of Namibia and South Africa for achieving independence and freedom, and stress the importance of further efforts of the United Nations Organization toward decolonization and achieving independence for Namibia.

The two sides consider that the Nonaligned Movement, as an important factor in international politics, will steadily expand its role in the solution of international problems.

The Soviet Union and Iran called for the strengthening of the United Nations Organization and for it to increase its constructive role in international affairs and in settling regional conflicts.

The sides expressed concern at the present economic situation existing in the world and, above all, the use of various levers of pressure against the developing countries. They stressed the need to eliminate all forms of discrimination in international economic relations, the reduction of the existing gap between the North and the South, and the prevention of using commercial and economic levers of pressure which are contrary to international norms in the service of political aims.

The Soviet Union and Iran attach great importance to the development of all-around relations between them and to dialogue at the highest levels, and emphasize the need for its continuation.

In this connection, while thanking the government and the people of the USSR for the warm and sincere hospitality, 'A.A. Hashemi-Rafsanjani invited M.S. Gorbachev to pay an official visit to the Islamic Republic of Iran. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

Shevardnadze Comments on Visit

LD2306213489 Tehran Television Service in Persian 1700 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Interview with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze by unidentified correspondent at Moscow Airport; Shevardnadze speaking in Russian with consecutive translation into Farsi; translation from the Russian; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] How did Comrade Hashemi-Rafsanjani's visit to Moscow go?

[Shevardnadze] I think it was a very productive visit. Yesterday we spoke during negotiations. This is how Comrade Gorbachev described the significance of this visit, as a major turning-point in our relations. Essentially, we now have a new phase in Soviet-Iranian relations. New principles of goodneighborliness and friendship have been formulated [brief break in transmission]. I think that on the basis of these principles we can indeed build good relations of mutual...[incomplete sentence as heard]

[Unidentified speaker, in native Russian] It is a continuation of the old line, a restoration of it but at a new phase.

Hashemi-Rafsanjani on U.S. Ties

PM2306111189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 4

[G. Charodeyev report: "'A.A. Hashemi-Rafsanjani: The Visit Has Matched Our Hopes"]

[Text] 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, speaker of the Iranian Majlis and acting supreme commander in chief of the Islamic Republic of Iran Armed Forces, gave a press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists 22 June.

Answering Soviet Television's questions about the visit's results, 'A.A. Hashemi-Rafsanjani said that the optimism both sides have always felt as regards the establishment of stable good-neighborly relations has been justified.

"We achieved almost all the goals we had set beforehand and took major steps toward the expansion of Soviet-Iranian relations," he emphasized.

THE TIMES correspondent asked: Was the question of Soviet arms sales to Iran discussed during the talks in Moscow? How do you perceive the prospects for improving relations between Iran and the United States?

"To begin with, a few words about Iran's arms purchases abroad. We have repeatedly explained that our defense policy is built on the principles of self-sufficiency. Now we are most seriously reviewing our defense potential

and are studying the possibility of expanding the production of aircraft, missiles, artillery, and electronic equipment. We are capable of creating all this in our own country. But we do have certain technical needs. We hope to satisfy them soon from various sources. But Iran will remain independent, including in questions of securing its defense.

"Let me say a few words about relations with the United States. Prior to the revolution, the Americans pursued a policy that was offensive to our people. Afterward the United States continued to interfere in our internal affairs, it organized plots and an economic blockade. The Americans undermined their own positions in Iran. It is, of course, very difficult to ease the tension in our relations."

Question from THE DAILY TELEGRAPH: Could you clarify whether the death sentence passed by the Iranian leadership on British writer Rushdie remains in force? Could Rushdie himself or the British government do something to have this sentence lifted?

"The West is being ignorant regarding Rushdie's book. What Imam Khomeyni said conforms with Shari'a prescriptions. This is not his own or anyone else's personal opinion. The entire Islamic world, despite certain differences of opinion, unanimously backed Iran in the passing of the death sentence on Rushdie. We cannot repeal Shari'a prescriptions made in Allah's name."

A correspondent of the weekly NOVOYE VREMYA asked: Mr Speaker, how would you like to see Iranian society on the threshold of the 21st century?

"Our revolution is Islamic. But it is also a cultural, economic, and political revolution. From the ideological and cultural viewpoints we want to make Iran a Muslim country. From the political viewpoint we want an autonomous, independent, and democratic state relying on the voice of the people. We also want Iran to achieve economic autonomy and to be independent of other countries. We do have the base to attain these goals. From the viewpoint of foreign policy, we want to have good-neighborly relations with all countries—with some exceptions, if the truth be told."

The next question was asked by a correspondent who, unfortunately, did not identify himself: Do you believe that a political settlement in Afghanistan is impossible as long as the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan remains in power?

"We were against the presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan. In our view, the Afghan people did not wish it either. It is well known that now there are no Soviet troops in Afghanistan. The time has come for the Afghans to decide for themselves how to live in the future. We have no right to interfere in the Afghan people's internal affairs. It seems to us that Pakistan, Iran, the Soviet Union, and China must help to settle the Afghan problem."

U.S. journalists asked: Was the question of the conditions of life for followers of Islam here, in the Soviet Union, discussed during your talks with President Gorbachev? Was there a discussion of the question of events in the Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan?

"We agreed with the Soviet leaders that we would not interfere in one another's internal affairs and that during the talks we would focus attention on problems of bilateral relations. Although I must say that, on the whole, we perceive the Soviet leadership's domestic policy as correct."

Britain's THE GUARDIAN: Is it not time for the Afghan mujahidin to start direct talks with the Najibullah government? Your diplomats have started accepting invitations to attend official events organized by the present Afghan government. Do you recognize it as legitimate?

"We are not concerned with Afghanistan's internal questions. The main point is that it is necessary to observe international principles. Our common task is to meet the demands made by the Afghan people themselves."

Guests Tour Baku

NC2306180089 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] The speaker of the Iranian Majlis and acting commander in chief of the Iranian Armed Forces, 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, and the individuals who are accompanying him on his visit to the Soviet Union arrived in Baku from Leningrad on a special flight today. The esteemed guest was welcomed at the airport by Ayaz Mutalibov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers Presidium; Nail Fatallyev, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Vagif Guseynov, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Presidium and Chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR State Planning Committee; Sadykhov, Azerbaijan SSR minister of foreign affairs; Shaykh-ol-Eslam Allashukur Pashazade, chairman of the board of the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of the Transcaucasus; [name indistinct], member of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee; and other officials.

After a short rest, Hashemi-Rafsanjani and the individuals who are accompanying him performed Friday prayers in the [name indistinct] mosque. Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, received Hashemi-Rafsanjani and the delegation accompanying him. Later, the (?guests) from Iran toured Baku.

Hashemi-Rafsanjani Speaks in Baku

LD2306172689 Tehran IRNA in English
1705 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Baku, June 23, IRNA—After joining local Muslims for the Friday prayer, Hojjat ol-Eslam Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani gave a speech to a cheering audience of Soviet Muslims, and offered them condolences on the sad demise of the leader of the Islamic revolution.

Emotions reached such a climax that Rafsanjani's speech was possible only after repeated appeals from Iranian officials for calm from the multidinous crowd, many of whom wore black as a sign of mourning for Imam Khomeyni.

In his speech, the Iranian speaker invited Soviet Azerbaijanis to make pilgrimage to the holy shrine in Mashad of Imam Reza (PBUH), [peace be upon him] the 8th infallible imam of Prophet Muhammad's household.

"Now that an open atmosphere prevails (in the Soviet Union) thanks to Mr. Gorbachev's initiatives, we hope the horizons will be further widened so that we can extend our aid to your mosques and theological schools," the high-ranking Iranian official stressed.

"With the expansion of cultural cooperation, we hope to exchange visits of 'ulema between Iran and Baku. You can witness the Islamic revolution's achievements by travelling to Iran," he added.

Earlier, the speaker was enthusiastically welcomed by Soviet Azerbaijanis who lined both sides of the nearly 22 knm long way leading from Baku Airport to the city centre.

Many Soviet Muslims from different cities had converged on Baku after learning through Iranian radio broadcasts Thursday that Rafsanjani was to visit their hometown Friday.

Traffic jammed almost all streets, and Soviet Azerbaijanis who share cultural, religious and lingual ties with their brethren across the borders in Iran, condoled the Iranian delegation both in Persian and the local Turkish dialect Azeri on the beloved imam's demise.

At the Friday prayer site, a lot of youth could be seen weeping out of excitement. They showed their genuine affection by kissing the Iranian 'ulema who were members of the delegation.

Later in the day, Rafsanjani attended the session of the city's Executive Council and went sight-seeing along with his delegation.

Departs After Baku Visit

LD2306200489 Moscow TASS in English
1934 GMT 23 jun 89

[Text] Baku June 23 TASS—Iranian Parliamentary Speaker 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani left for Tehran today after spending the day in Baku, capital of the Soviet Transcaucasian Republic of Azerbaijan.

Upon his arrival in this city, he was welcomed at the airport by the leaders of the Azerbaijani Government and religious dignitaries.

Rafsanjani and accompanying officials performed Friday's prayer rite in the central Taza-Pir mosque. Addressing the believers before the service, he said that Iran and Azerbaijan are bound by good traditions of long standing.

The Iranian leader stressed the importance of broadening trade and economic ties and developing friendly and goodneighbourly relations.

He was received by Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijani Communist Party Central Committee.

It was pointed out during the meeting that Azerbaijan and Iran have much in common in their cultures, customs and traditions and that they have experience of economic cooperation, which should be developed.

The Iranian leader went sightseeing in Baku. At the Azerbaijani Academy of Sciences' Manuscript Institute he showed interest in works by Iranian and Azerbaijani classics and medieval theological manuscripts.

Rafsanjani had a meeting also with Azerbaijani Oriental scientists.

Returns Home, Issues Statement

LD2306201289 Moscow TASS in English
1952 GMT 23 jun 89

[Text] Tehran June 23 TASS—'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly and acting commander-in-chief of the Iranian Armed Forces, returned this evening home after the end of the official friendly visit to the Soviet Union.

Hashemi-Rafsanjani praised the results of the visit in a press statement made at the airport. He noted a very warm welcome accorded to him and members of the delegation in the Soviet Union. Touching on the results of the talks, the head of the Iranian delegation pointed out that the Soviet Union treats with understanding and respect the Islamic revolution. At the negotiations the sides reached understanding on many international problems, including implementation of Resolution 598 of the U.N. Security Council and a settlement in Afghanistan and Lebanon. As a result of the talks, the sides

signed documents on long-term cooperation between the two neighbouring countries, Hashemi-Rafsanjani said. He also noted a warm reception accorded to the Iranian delegation by residents of Moscow, Leningrad and Baku.

Shevardnadze Meets Afghanistan's 'Abdul Wakil

LD2306160589 Moscow TASS in English 1600 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June 23 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his Afghan counterpart 'Abdul Wakil today held a substantive exchange of opinions on the situation in and around Afghanistan, including possible ways of achieving a comprehensive and fair intra-Afghan settlement.

Wakil is in Moscow en route from Kabul to The Hague where he will attend a non-aligned conference on peace and international law.

Summing up the more than four months since the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, the ministers stated that despite a massive onslaught by the armed opposition actively and extensively supported in violation of the Geneva agreements by Pakistan and the United States, as well as by some other countries, including Saudi Arabia, the positions of republican government in Afghanistan, far from growing weaker, have only strengthened even further.

By successfully repelling desperate opposition attacks at Jalalabad, Khowst, Qandahar and elsewhere, the government of the Republic of Afghanistan has enhanced its prestige both inside the country and on the international arena, and demonstrated the stability and viability of central authorities.

This was facilitated by the fact that even in the face of gravest military ordeals, the government and President Najibullah followed even more firmly and energetically the policy of putting an end to bloodletting and bringing about national reconciliation in Afghanistan by political means.

It was pointed out that signs have appeared lately that Pakistan and the United States, without giving up armed support to the extremist part of the Afghan opposition, are increasingly beginning to realise the need for a political settlement in Afghanistan and for a quest for ways of securing such a settlement.

In this connection it was stressed that Afghanistan and the Soviet Union are prepared, as before, to open constructive dialogue, in any place and at any time, to facilitate an end to bloodletting on Afghan soil and help achieve a compromise between the warring sides.

The only sensible condition of such a compromise should be regard for realities existing in Afghanistan and the involvement in it of all political forces of Afghan society without exception.

In this context both ministers reaffirmed that a relevant international conference with the participation of the USSR, Pakistan, Iran and possibly other, especially neighbouring, countries, which will be in line with the spirit and objectives of the 43rd United Nations General Assembly session's resolution on the Afghan issue, could be highly important as a first step to an all-Afghan settlement.

Wakil stressed that the struggle waged by the Afghan Government is not a strugle for its survival. This is not how the issue stands now. The aim of the struggle is to uphold the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan and the Afghan people's right to exercise self-determination and make a free choice.

The ministers also discussed some issues of bilateral cooperation and a number of international problems.

The Soviet side voiced readiness to continue giving all-round assistance to the Afghan Government in its desire to preserve independence and restore peace to Aghan soil.

The meeting was warm and friendly.

East Europe

Human Rights Delegation Leader on Romanian Fence

LD2506205689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0958 GMT 25 Jun 89

[Text] Paris, June 25 (TANJUG)—Head of the Soviet delegation at the human rights conference in Paris Yuriy Kachlev today indirectly condemned the putting up of the barbed wire on Romania's border with Hungary.

"We would not have done that if we were in their place", he said.

Kachlev underscored that Bucharest did not ask for Moscow's opinion before it decided to put up the barbed wire. "If they had asked us, we would have told them not to do it."

TASS Notes Hungarian Leadership Elections

LD2406192689 Moscow TASS in English 1914 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest June 24 TASS—The plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) continued its work here today. A spokesman of the party told reporters that the plenum elected Reszo Nyers, who was Politburo member of the party's Central Committee and minister of state, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

The full-scale meeting of the Central Committee resolved that till the congress of the HSWP which is scheduled to convene on October 7 of this year the party will be directed by the Presidium consisting of four

people. They are Reszo Nyers, General Secretary of the HSWP Karoly Grosz, Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth and Minister of State Imre Pozsgay.

The plenum of the HSWP Central Committee elected Jeno Kovacs Central Committee secretary for party and organizational questions, and Janos Barabas secretary for ideology and the press.

Bulgarian Official Denies Soviet Troops Present

LD2406194989 Moscow TASS in English
1939 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] Sofia June 24 TASS—"Yet another lie" is the title of a small item published by the newspaper "RABOTNICHESKO DELO" today. The item signed by the first deputy chief of staff of the Bulgarian People's Army, Radnyu Minchev, said:

"Following the unrest on May 20-27 in some population centers in north-east Bulgaria rumors began to circulate concerning a presence and concentration on the territory of Bulgaria of Soviet divisions.

"On behalf of the Ministry of Defence I am authorized to state that there were and are no Soviet troops in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

"No military activity is carried out on the territory of this country that infringes on the security of whatever neighboring state.

"The forces and units of the Bulgarian People's Army are deployed in their permanent dislocations [as received] and are engaged in their normal training process".

Bulgarian Leader Zhivkov Continues Visit

Received by Gorbachev for Talks

LD2306181889 Moscow TASS in English
1737 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June 23 TASS—Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev today met Bulgarian leader Todor Zhivkov who paid a brief working visit to the USSR.

As Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation was discussed, note was taken of the need to make bolder headway along the path of cooperative arrangements, including joint firms.

It was agreed that the specific objectives of developing bilateral economic cooperation will be discussed in the course of Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov's forthcoming visit to Bulgaria.

Gorbachev and Zhikov reaffirmed the concurrence of the fundamental approaches of the two countries to radically updating the mechanism of integration-oriented interaction among countries united in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

They expressed satisfaction with the growing contribution of socialist states, including the contribution made within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, to the accelerating processes of improving and stabilising international relations, first of all of the European continent.

The meeting was warm and friendly.

More on Leaders' Talks

PM2606140389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 Jun 1989 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report on the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and Bulgarian leader Zhivkov and Zhivkov's departure entitled "Friendly Meeting"]

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, on 23 June met with Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, who is in the Soviet Union on a short working visit.

The conversation began with an exchange of information. Comrade Gorbachev described the results of the work of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, assessing it as an outstanding event in the life of Soviet society and an important stage in the political reform. A powerful impetus has been given to the political process. Millions of Soviet people who have been watching the work of the new supreme bodies of power have been drawn into it and of course the deputies themselves have literally been acquiring experience day by day, as can be judged by the sessions of the committees and commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet which are taking place currently. It would be arrogant to consider that we have a finished concept of all areas of the development of society. A lot of work still has to be done on this. However, the party has been correct in its definition of the main link—the democratization of the economic and political system and the whole of spiritual life and the creation of a law-governed statehood, without which democracy might turn into anarchy.

We now face many complicated problems, both in the social and economic sphere and in the area of ethnic relations. But if we manage to overcome the alienation of the working people from ownership and make them real participants in and administrators of state affairs, then restructuring will move forward with confidence.

Comrade Zhivkov said that Bulgarian Communists and the broad public of the country follow with enormous interest everything that is taking place in the Soviet Union and well understand the importance of the processes taking place here, not just for the Soviet Union but for the other socialist countries, too, and for the entire development of the international situation. Major economic reforms are being implemented in Bulgaria, too. A

key point in these now is the setting up of firms, which are nothing other than special kinds of cooperatives which are given wide rights and opportunities. It is expected that in the long term the firms will take upon themselves up to 80 percent of all the economic activity which is now regulated by the Council of Ministers and the ministries. Competition between firms is also being encouraged. Todor Zhivkov also described measures which are being mapped out for the reform of the country's political system with due regard for the need for the reforms of the economic and the political systems to be interlinked.

The leaders of the two parties drew attention to many similar features in the restructuring processes in the Soviet Union and Bulgaria. At the same time, the discussion touched upon the fact that it is a fruitless and dangerous exercise to borrow someone else's experience without taking into consideration the particular national features of the country. Every fraternal party and state is fully independent in determining forms of social development and tasks and rates of reforms that have become due. The widespread search and diversity of solutions make up the richness of the theory and practice of socialism, and the study of each other's experience and the frank and comradely exchange of the results of one's analysis of one's activity are that much more important.

During a discussion of issues of Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation, note was made of the need to move forward more boldly along the path of cooperation, including the setting up of joint firms. It was agreed that specific tasks in the development of Soviet-Bulgarian economic cooperation will be discussed during the forthcoming visit to Bulgaria by Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Todor Zhivkov confirmed that their principled approaches to the radical renewal of the mechanism of integrational collaboration by the CEMA states coincide. They spoke in favor of setting up conditions under which socialist integration would receive fresh incentives and scope, including wide use of instruments in the form of goods and money and the further improvement of the credit and financing mechanism of cooperation.

The Soviet and Bulgarian leaders expressed satisfaction with the growing contribution of the socialist countries, including within the Warsaw Pact Organization, to the growing processes of improvement and stabilization of international relations, primarily upon the continent of Europe. They see the future of Europe in the strengthening of mutual trust and security upon paths of radically reducing armed forces and all types of armaments, and of international cooperation on many levels and with equality of rights in the political, economic, and humanitarian fields. In this connection the Bulgarian side noted the great importance of the results of the visit which took place recently by comrade Gorbachev to the FRG and the joint statement signed there.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev wished success to the communists and the fraternal people of Bulgaria in the renewal of their socialist homeland.

The conversation occurred in the warm and friendly atmosphere which is traditional for Soviet-Bulgarian relations.

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, left Moscow on 23 June. He was in the Soviet Union on a working visit. At the airport the visitor was seen off by Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU; by Fedorov, first deputy head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee; and by other officials.

Before leaving, the Bulgarian leader made a high assessment in an interview with Soviet and Bulgarian journalists of the results of his visit to the Soviet Union. I am satisfied with the results of my meeting with M.S. Gorbachev, T. Zhivkov said. Our talks were fruitful, businesslike, and useful for developing mutual relations between our countries and peoples. They showed that we have no differences either on the restructuring and socialist building taking place in our country and the USSR or on international problems.

The renewal process in the socialist countries has specific features in each country, T. Zhivkov continued. It depends on culture, traditions, and many other factors. During our conversation we were interested by common, principled aspects. We believe that it is necessary to renew the socialist system in the spiritual, economic, and ideological spheres, the general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee stressed.

Interviewed Prior to Departure

LD2306193689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Jun 89

[From the "Vremya newscast"]

[Text] Before his departure the leader of the People's Republic of Bulgaria gave an interview to a group of Soviet and Bulgarian journalists:

[Begin recording] [unidentified journalist] Comrade Zhivkov, how do you assess the importance of such meetings with Soviet leaders?

[Zhivkov in Bulgarian with superimposed Russian translation] During a conversation with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev which lasted an hour and a half, we examined all the main problems of our bilateral relations—the development of the socialist countries, the problems of peace, and the international situation. There are no differences between us. We have unity, both on the

problems of restructuring and on the problems of socialist construction. The process of renewal which is currently taking place in the socialist countries is taking place in each country in its own way. This depends upon culture and tradition and on many other factors. We were interested in general aspects of principle. We are united on the fact that a radical renewal of socialist society is essential in the spiritual, economic, and ideological fields. We also established a unity of views on international issues, including with regard to the construction of a common European home. Overall, I am able to say that I am satisfied with the results of this meeting. It is very important for relations between our countries and peoples and was exceptionally fruitful, businesslike, and useful. [end recording]

Comments on Restructuring, Cooperation

LD2306122989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1902 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Interview by correspondent Viktor Lyubovtsev with Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Bulgarian State Council, date and place not given; Zhivkov speaks in Bulgarian with superimposed Russian translation—recorded]

[Text] [Lyubovtsev] First of all, allow me to thank you for agreeing to give this interview to Soviet television on the eve of your working visit to the USSR. It is well known that in Bulgaria, just as in the USSR and the other socialist countries, a process of changes is under way, a process of profound reforms. What are the particular features of this process in your country?

[Todor Zhivkov] Allow me to begin by thanking Soviet television for giving me the opportunity to make a short statement to Soviet viewers in connection with my working visit to the USSR. The word "restructuring" was not coined in Bulgaria or some other socialist country; the word "restructuring" was born in the USSR. And today we cannot imagine the changes that have taken place in our country since the 27th CPSU Congress without everything that is being done in the USSR under the banner of restructuring. And everything that is being done in Bulgaria to restructure our society, as we say, the restructuring of socialist Bulgaria relies heavily on the experience of the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries.

You asked what mainly characterizes restructuring in Bulgaria. I could formulate this briefly in this way: Restructuring in the People's Republic of Bulgaria is carried out on the basis of our efforts to radically reform the economic basis of socialism, to change and democratize the sociopolitical system, and to introduce broad democratization and pluralism in all spheres of social activity.

As is known, in July 1987 we held a special plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] which elaborated and affirmed what was known as the party's July Concept. It is on the basis of this concept that restructuring is now being implemented in all spheres of our social life. The July Concept is the concept of restructuring socialist society in Bulgaria. It is not a concept which pretends to or aspires to serve as some kind of model of socialism for all socialist countries. It concerns Bulgaria, first of all, primarily taking account of our specific conditions.

In this concept we have tried to rely broadly on the natural laws which objectively operate in our society and which in the past, unfortunately, were somewhat underestimated. And as Lenin said, these natural laws do not submit to the authorities. They operate objectively. Taking this into account, we generalized these natural laws into principles and the principles into the concept.

I would like to speak briefly about the basic theses of this concept. The first and main thesis concerns socialist property. The July Concept affirms that socialist property is one and indivisible in its variety, starting from personal property, family property, group and collective property, and ending with broad socialist property. That is the first thing.

The second principle concerns democratic centralism. In our country the opinion was long widespread that the democratic principle for the construction of society in all spheres of activity—state bodies, economic bodies, the party, public organizations—consisted of some sort of arithmetic proportion between centralism and decentralisation. Obviously, this way of posing the question was incorrect and it led to excessive centralism, to the bureaucratization of the social system and, to a large extent, of the state system, and also of other spheres.

Consequently, democratic centralism, as it was formulated in the July Concept means, first of all, the handing over of real power from the summit of the social pyramid to its base, to where people live and work, to the factories and enterprises, to scientific institutes and cultural establishments, to the primary territorial units—that is, to the national roots, where work is done, where society is reproduced, where it develops.

Futhermore, the July Concept put forward another important principle which radically differs from our former views on how to combine personal, collective, and social interests. Here, too, we used to hold the opinion that social, collective, and personal interests should be proportional. However, life confirmed the conclusion in the July Concept that it is impossible to implement collective and social interests if one underrates and does not put personal interests in the foreground, if one does not implement collective and social interests precisely on the basis of personal interests.

Another considerable conclusion which was made in the July Concept concerns the party. The July Concept confirmed that the party cannot be and should not be a stage in the hierarchy of state, economic, and social management. It is in the vanguard of the people. It is the motive force. It is the motor and engine of everything but not a stage of management.

These are the main principles set down in the July Concept, which lie at the basis of restructuring in the Bulgarian People's Republic. As is known, after the adoption of the July Concept we carried out a number of very bold initiatives concerning state and economic management, social organizations, and territorial units. I am referring to the reduction in the apparatus, the reorganization of the Council of Ministers, and the reduction in territorial administrative bodies. In particular, in place of the 28 okrugs, 9 oblasts have been formed in the country. Communities and municipalities have been set up as the basic cells of our society. I am referring also to the abolition of a number of attributes of power.

All of this inspired confidence and optimism in our party and our people and belief in restructuring. Well, that is the main and basic element. It is the foundation on which restructuring in the Bulgarian People's Republic relies.

[Lyubovtsev] Thank you. I would like to ask: What stage of restructuring and reorganization is the Bulgarian People's Republic at now, and what problems, what tasks facing the country, do you consider the most urgent?

[Zhivkov] It is difficult for me to give a complete analysis and a final conclusion as to what stage we are at. Among other things, previously we were constantly resorting to such analyses and noting more and more new stages. But it turned out that apart from stages there also exist a large number of problems which are put forward by life, the most everyday problems affecting millions of people that we underestimated in the process of implementing and carrying out the planned stages.

The catalyst which gave impetus to the implementation of the July Concept was the December plenum of the party Central Committee last year. What was the significance of that? That plenum interpreted and showed how to implement in practice the principles of the July Concept. The point is that the implementation of a number of changes in the state system, in the administrative leadership, in the economic superstructure, in the functions and role of the party and so on, did not give the results we expected. On the contrary, certain difficulties and some contradictions arose: Why? Because we did not manage to achieve a breakthrough, to destroy the hierarchical structure, to get through to the millions of people, to get through to where people live and work, where people fulfill themselves. Consequently, it was to the great merit of the December plenum that we made a decisive attempt specifically to reveal the problems, the forms and approaches to get through to everyone.

The July plenum of the Central Committee of the BCP came to the conclusion that the main economic form which could achieve a revolutionary turnaround in the development of the national economy, and not only of this but in all spheres of our development, was the organization of production in firms. You probably know that we are now carrying out extensive work to set up firms both in industry and, after the plenum of the Central Committee last December, firms began to be set up in agriculture, too. Firms are also to be set up in the spiritual sphere and the social sphere and so on. It even came as a surprise to us to see the vast effect and the great interest aroused by the organization in firms and our point of view on this organization. And one can say that now firms are growing like mushrooms after rain both in industry and in agriculture. Tomorrow they will be established in the spiritual sphere and in culture.

Therefore, we consider that the December plenum performed a great service in finding ways and forms for revolutionary transformation in the places where people live and work with the aim of drawing millions of people into restructing.

On what in the main, on what principles is the organization in firms based? One can say that it is the unity of three main basic tasks. First, the firm should overcome the existing tendency whereby people feel alienated from socialist property. Second, by means of the organization in firms it is necessary to change the nature and the essence of organization, so that it is capable of reproducing itself, renewing itself on the basis of contemporary scientific-technical progress. And third, by means of organization in firms it is essential to ensure competition in the market, both the internal and the international market. These are the three main aims and tasks which we are striving to implement by means of organization in firms.

When I speak about organization in firms, when I say that we are going to make use of it in all spheres of economic and social activity, I have in mind that in agriculture it will not happen in exactly the same way as in industry and not in the same way as in the spiritual sphere, or, say, in the sphere of culture. Obviously, account will be taken of the specific conditions in agriculture and in culture and in the social sphere.

Can it be asserted that our practical actions in this area are going swimmingly, as the saying goes? Nothing of the sort. We are coming up against great difficulties, for these firm organizations must be raised up from anonymity. Everyone who works must be raised up from the state of anonymity, starting from the management which is elected and from those who work in this firm. The role of director must manifest itself as must the role of the people around him, the role of each person who works in the firm, combining this with new criteria and the organization and payment of work.

Thus, these problems are very complicated and difficult. And the most important thing which is an obstacle to our progress at the present time in the implementation of the decisions of the December plenum is the fact that the party consciousness, collectively elaborated, collectively accumulated by painful experience, has not yet become the consciousness of the millions of people. And it cannot be fully implemented if it is not taken into the consciousness of the masses. That is the snag now. That is where the problems and contradictions lie. This is where there are difficulties which are natural and unavoidable. And even more so since it is necessary to unleash extensive democratic principles. Without the development of democratic forms of management in communities, municipalities, and firms we shall not be able to make progress.

[Lyubovtsev] Comrade Todor Zhivkov, in one of your speeches this year you said that restructuring and reorganization should rid socialism of those paradoxes which it has created, itself. What specifically did you have in mind and could I ask you to reveal this thought?

[Zhivkov] Yes. There are many paradoxes in the development of socialism which we must see. They cannot be hidden. Moreover, it is necessary to overcome them. One can list a lot of paradoxes but now I shall name the following: How and why did it happen that the most humane system which embodies and must embody the highest ideals of mankind has slowed its development? Why has the process begun of alienating a section of the people from our ideals? That is one paradox.

Or another: Why is it that a society which is being created on a scientific basis is unable constantly to accept and use the scientific-technical revolution and modern technical progress? Or take yet another paradox: Why, for example, is it that a society which has declared the individual to be the basis of everything, which has declared that the individual is the most important thing, why is this society incapable of creating all the conditions to satisfy the needs of that individual, from the point of view of this purchasing capability, from that of modern criteria of life and modern civilization? One could name other such paradoxes which exist in socialist society. We must be able to see them and analyze them with clear understanding that it is no longer permissible to tolerate such paradoxes, that the further development of socialism demands revolutionary changes in order to guarantee people's life under conditions of civilization, of that civilization which was envisaged by our great first teacher and which was set out in the Great October Socialist Revolution.

[Lyubovtsev] In conclusion, allow me to ask you how you see the further development of Soviet-Bulgarian relations. What new things have been introduced by restructuring and are being introduced by reorganization in the development of links and cooperation between our parties, between our countries and peoples?

[Zhivkov] My last working meeting with comrade Gorbachev had great importance for the development of our relations including restructuring in Bulgaria. After that meeting we planned quite a large number of measures in Bulgaria aimed at the further expansion of cooperation with the USSR. If one takes what is being done in Bulgaria, we consider that a vast step has been made and is being made on the path of fulfilling the accords reached at the meeting with comrade Gorbachev and aimed at ensuring that Soviet-Bulgarian and Bulgarian-Soviet relations under the conditions of restructuring in the USSR and Bulgaria should be raised to a qualitatively new level. But as we see, the modern world is changing very rapidly. It is developing dynamically in connection with the restructuring in your country and in our country and in the other socialist countries and in the world as a whole. Consequently, the forthcoming working meeting which we shall be holding with comrade Gorbachev will be of extremely great importance for the further development of relations between our countries. At such meetings we, as the saying goes, synchronize our watches.

Thus, it is not just I who am very optimistic about the results of the forthcoming meeting, all of our people are awaiting it with excitement and optimism. It is evident that the space or, to be more precise, the base for the development of our relations is growing. It is increasing and will continue to grow. But that is not the important thing. The important thing is that restructuring is being implemented also in the system of cooperation which embraces all aspects—economic, political, and ideological. And, evidently, in this connection we shall have the opportunity of talking to comrade Gorbachev about bilateral relations, about relations between our socialist countries, and about other aspects of our internal and international development.

The guarantee that this will receive further development is first and foremost the circumstance that the strategic course of restructuring in the USSR and the strategic course of reorganization in Bulgaria coincide. It is precisely this which is the guarantee that in the future, too, increasingly favorable conditions will be created for expanding our reciprocal cooperation in the spheres of the economy, of social policy, of political relations, and of ideological relations.

Our people is following with excitement and great satisfaction what is happening in the USSR, how restructuring is progressing in Soviet society. We are aware of the scale of the problems that are being tackled there. And we also recognize the presence of difficulties because even little Bulgaria on the path of its restructuring comes up against many difficulties, with colossal difficulties. But they cannot be avoided. They are the inevitable and natural accompaniments of revolutionary changes.

I would like to note also that all of us in Bulgaria have been heartened by the Congress of Peoples Deputies in the USSR. It was genuinely an important historical stage

in the course of restructuring in the USSR, a stage which determines the further process of the complete and all around self-management of Soviet society.

I would like to take advantage of this opportunity once again to congratulate Comrade Gorbachev on his election to the post of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. In conclusion allow me to wish the Soviet people new successes in the construction of socialism and to sincerely greet them on behalf of Bulgarian Communists and all the working people of our country. Thank you.

[Lyubovtsev] Thank you very much.

[Zhivkov] Yes.

Mladenov Denies Bulgaria 'Deporting' Turks

PM2306073789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jun 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Concern for Fate of Fellow-Countrymen. Statement by Bulgarian Foreign Minister"]

[Text] Sofia, 21 Jun—BTA has disseminated a statement by Bulgarian Foreign Minister P. Mladenov which states, in particular:

The Bulgarian Government and public are increasingly concerned about the fate of their fellow-countrymen who, making use of the new foreign passport legislation, are emigrating to Turkey for various reasons. The fundamental position on these questions has been set out in the statements by T. Zhivkov and G. Atanasov. Recently, however, it is been increasingly clear that the Turkish side is abusing the fate of these people for unscrupulous political and propaganda purposes. We are particularly concerned about information we are receiving on what is happening to our citizens on Turkish territory, as well as the plans for them to settle in various parts of Turkey and abroad.

Certain sources are claiming that some of them will be sent to the northern part of Cyprus, which is under Turkish military occupation. According to other information there are plans to dispatch Bulgarian citizens to land inhabited by the Kurdish people. Obviously, the aim thereby being pursued is to settle those regions where—as the world public knows—there is an ongoing war. These areas are empty as a result of the systematic and violent policy of assimilation conducted by the Turkish authorities against the Kurds. These plans cannot fail to cause concern. Their implementation would be a provocation against the world public, since the aforesaid lands belong to other peoples—the Cypriots and the Kurds.

With regard to the question of emigration by Bulgarian citizens, some of the mass media as well as a number of official circles in the West have been using the concepts of "expulsion," "deportation," and so forth. These are untrue and biased allegations. We are not expelling these people. On the contrary, we are talking honestly about what awaits them and the fate that may befall them if they remain there. Most Bulgarian Muslims understand and support our position. Bulgaria is "deporting" nobody. It is guaranteeing the legal right of all its citizens to freely leave the country and return.

When the Vienna agreements were worked out, certain states virtually made a cult of people's right of free movement. But now that Bulgaria has changed its legislation and is guaranteeing this right in practice certain circles are again looking for an excuse to besmirch Bulgaria in the international arena.

Polish Politburo Backing for Coalition Cited

PM2306133789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jun 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Election Results Discussed"]

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Jun—Guided by the decisions of the 10th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee Plenum, the party is acting and will continue to act in accordance with the round table accords and in the spirit of dialogue, consensus, and profound reforming transformations in political, social, and—particularly importantly—economic life, the PZPR Central Committee Politburo has noted. At a regular session it discussed the election results and the disposition of political forces in the national parliament and outlined the areas of the party's activity in the immediate future and primarily during the preparation for the next PZPR Central Committee plenum.

On 4 and 18 June, the citizens of Poland elected a Sejm and Senate by a free vote, the Politburo stated. The structures of a state based on socialist parliamentary democracy are emerging. The opposition gained strong representation in parliament and thereby considerable influence on state policy. Therefore it is bound to bear some responsibility for what happens in the country. That opinion was expressed by electors who voted for its candidates. They, like the rest of society, expect all patriotic forces in Poland to pool their efforts to resolve the difficult problems, especially the economic ones. The proposal expounded by W. Jaruzelski and supported by the alliance parties and societies on the creation of a broad coalition in support of the reforms remains in force.

The Politburo stated its intention to cooperate closely in parliament with its coalition allies. The party also wants its deputies' club to be able to cooperate constructively with the parliamentary opposition.

West Europe

Norway Sets Up 'Crisis Cell' Over Stricken Sub

AU2606075589 Paris AFP in English 0731 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Excerpts] Oslo, June 26 (AFP)—A Soviet submarine was on fire on Monday morning about 110 kilometres (70 miles) off the northern coast of Norway, the Norwegian military command said here.

Norwegian Defence Minister Johan Joergen Holst said there were "reasons to believe that nuclear weapons are on board". [passage omitted]

TASS news agency in Moscow, which confirmed the accident in a dispatch from Oslo quoting the Norwegian Defence Ministry, did not specify whether the submarine was nuclear-powered.

A Defence Ministry spokesman said a military reconnaissance plane which overflew the area at 0425 GMT reported seeing smoke rising from the submarine, which was on the surface. Its position was given as 110 kilometres (70 miles) northwest of the island of Soroya.

The Norwegian rescue centre at Bodoe spotted a distress flare at 0416 GMT and immediately alerted the Soviet naval base at Murmansk, headquarters of the northern fleet of Soviet nuclear submarines operating in the Atlantic.

It said Murmansk replied that no help was required. A Sea King helicopter sent to the scene by the defence ministry said sailors standing on the submarine's bridge had waved to indicate that it should withdraw. [passage omitted]

Norwegian ministers, civilian and military authorities have set up a "crisis cell" to deal with the incident. Ships diverted to the scene after the distress call was received were expected to arrive at 11 a.m. (0900 GMT).

FRG 'Bewilderment' at Cruise Ship Accident Cited

PM2306133189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 Jun 89 First Edition p 7

[Own Correspondent Ye. Grigoryev article: "How Could This Have Happened?"]

[Text] Bonn, 22 Jun—The dramatic events in the Barents Sea are attracting extensive attention here. First, because the majority of the passengers on the 'Maksim Gorkiy' were West German tourists. Second, because this ship was built in West Germany and only last year underwent a major overhaul at the Lloyd shipyard in Bremerhaven, including a refit with the most modern navigation equipment.

There was a sigh of relief in the FRG when it was learned that there were no casualties on the "Maksim Gorkiy" and that the passengers had been evacuated quickly and efficiently. All 575 West German passengers have returned safely to the FRG. But the collision with the ice inevitably makes one think of the "Titanic" disaster in April 1912. But that ship did not have modern navtigation equipment like this one. That is why surprise and bewilderment are being expressed in the FRG at how such a thing could have happened to the "Maksim Gorkiy."

"Unlike earthquakes, collisions with icebergs can be avoided with the aid of equipment. Although visibility was bad the ship had radar and an echo sounder," the GENERAL-ANZEIGER writes today. It continues: "The 'Maksim Gorkiy's' glossy publicity brochure extols its technical equipment. However, the precondition of the reliability of the equipment is the reliability of the people using it. The passengers were not looking for thrills. The captain clearly wanted to show the vast world of the ice at very close quarters. In so doing he could have crossed the ice field limit along which ships usually travel very cautiously. Such passenger ships do not have special steel plating for sailing among the ice floes. It was even more necessary then to expect that the captain would choose a secure and safe route. So the first question here is one of responsibility. At the same time one can only express praise of those in charge of the cruise for the efficient organization of the passenger rescue."

Allegations of Crew Drunkenness Denied

LD2406005289 Moscow TASS in English
1739 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Oslo June 23 TASS—The West German firm Phenix Fluegreisen and tourists who were aboard the Maxim Gorkiy resolutely refute allegations that some crew members of the Soviet liner were drunk at the time of collision with ice and during the rescue operation. They were approached by the Norwegian newspaper AFTENPOSTEN to check up on the credibility of statements made by Doctor Mads Gilbert who was present at the evacuation of passengers to the Norwegian coastguard ship Senja.

Cruise directory Winfired Prinz told the newspaper that not a single Soviet seaman on duty was in a state of intoxication. It would be too unjust to accuse them of this, he added. He was at the captain's bridge together with Master Marat Galimov at the time of collision with drifting ice. Prinz was with the Soviet captain all time till the complete evacuation of passengers and was among the last West German citizens to leave the ship.

Johannes Zurnieden, director general of the Phenix Fluegreisen firm, called such allegations a crude insult of Soviet seamen who displayed courage and heroism saving people. He said to the Norwegian paper that more than 80 West German tourists have already phoned or written letters refuting these false statements. "We owe our lives to Soviet seamen," say and write the rescued tourists.

Media Cite FRG's Genscher on Gorbachev Trip

On Gorbachev, Missiles

PM2206151189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Jun 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Not Letting the Disarmament Process Grind to a Halt"]

[Text] Bonn, 21 Jun—FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has pointed to the importance of the joint statement signed by the leaders of the FRG and the

Soviet Union during the official visit by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. There is every reason to claim, he stated in an interview with the newspaper SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, that the importance of this fundamental document extends not only to bilateral FRG-USSR relations, but also to the prospects for European development.

I have repeatedly stressed, the minister said, that our aim is not to destabilize our eastern neighbors. That would be irresponsible and unwise. We are interested in ensuring that the transformations in those countries take place without destabilization, since there would otherwise be a threat to the very policy of reform.

H.-D. Genscher advocated support for the dynamics of the disarmament process. The most important thing now is to prevent this process from grinding to a halt. It would be quite inexplicable if certain weapons systems were excluded from it—namely, short-range missiles. The question of whether new systems will be deployed to replace the Lance missiles will be answered depending on the specific situation in the security sphere prevailing by 1992, when NATO will reexamine this question.

On Soviet-FRG Ties

PM2306144689 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 25, 18 Jun 89 p 6

[FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher article: "On the Way to a United Europe"]

[Text] The visit to West Germany by Mikhail Gorbachev, President of the USSR Supreme Soviet, is drawing world public attention to German-Soviet relations. The interest in this visit once again stresses the focal significance of German-Soviet relations for both countries and for the development of Europe. We realize the responsibility connected with this. Together with the USSR we wish to make a big step towards confidence, understanding and cooperation and also towards overcoming the disuniting moments in Europe. This year the Federal Republic of Germany is marking its 40th anniversary. When setting it up, we took an obligation to preserve peace and strengthen freedom. Historical experience has shown us that not an aching for domination, but only a responsible policy can lead to these goals. No other nation in Europe is interested in peace and freedom more than the Germans who live on both sides of the watershed between the two systems.

That's why we have regarded, from the very beginning, West European integration as a cornerstone of the future of Europe. The community of 12 is not fenced off from the rest of the world. The successes of integration, our development that frees our capabilities for growth, which is directed at the creation in 1992 of a common internal market, are in conformity with the direct interests of our Eastern neighbours. They've already realized that our community is an attractive partner for cooperation. This tendency finds logical continuation also in the political field. The dialogue between the community of 12 and the USSR which has just started is obvious proof of this.

The concepts about the future of Europe are becoming ever more concrete from both sides. We'll achieve success only if we try not to confront but rather supplement each other's ideas. Our chance is exactly in that our concept of European peaceful order, outlined back in 1968 in Harmel's report, the same as the Soviet idea of a common European home, can be developed towards a common goal—the building of a better Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. All nations from the Atlantic to the Urals are included in this Europe. No one can be expelled or pushed out of Europe. The stability of peaceful European order demands the involvement and active help from the USA and Canada, which are not only our friends and allies, but also countries which signed the Final Act in Helsinki.

The feeling of European unity and identicalness has been preserved in spite of the decades of disunity on the continent. Today Europe, all of Europe, is more and more realizing itself and its responsibility, which is based on Europeans' common heritage. We must support such development, because it gives us a historical chance to start a new stage in the history of our continent. A Europe without divisions, without the iron cutrain, without a wall, or barbed wire is again possible. This will be. Minister of Foreign Affairs Shevardnadze is right—the iron curtain is rusty and falling apart!

Impressive reforms have started in the political, public and economic life of the USSR. The elections of people's deputies and the discussions at Congress of People's Deputies prove how deeply rooted the idea of democratization has become in people's minds. They are orientated at the values, which are one of the greatest achievements of European culture—a culture to which all the nations from the Atlantic to the Urals have contributed greatly.

The reforms in the USSR, the perestroika of the Soviet house is an expression of European self-realization. We follow this development with great admiration. But we completely realize the difficulties such a historical process must bring with it.

The reforms in the USSR have left the framework of political and economic tasks a long time ago. They are also changing the foreign policy and the policy in the field of security. We have our own interest in the success of these reforms. We're prepared to actively support them. We approve any reform leading to greater democracy, greater pluralism and greater freedom. Our goal is in that—and here I can cite the statement of the NATO council of May 30, 1989—"ideological and military

contradictions should be replaced by cooperation, confidence and peaceful competition, and the human rights and political freedoms for the benefit of all people should be completely guaranteed".

The greater openness in the USSR and in some other countries of Central and Eastern Europe brought us nearer to the unification of Europe. The West European process of integration, as it is expressed in European communities, is a support beam of such development. But there are also other structures in which we can take support. EFTA - the European Free Trade Association - is already expressing itself as a valuable intermediary and supplementing element. Besides that, we should include in the general European dialogue also the major experience of the Council of Europe. Hopeful prerequisites exist for this. I'm sure that the July 6 visit by Mikhail Gorbachev to the Council of Europe in Strasbourg will impart additional impulses to this dialogue.

I can assure the Soviet readers that the development of the European community is not directed against their country. To the contrary, the dynamism of the European community is profitable for all of Europe and for all Europeans both economically and politically.

My Soviet colleague Shevardnadze spoke in Paris, at the conference on the Human Dimension of the General European Process, about prospects of Europe as if a single legal space. I also think that such an idea is very promising. Law, in all of its expressions, is an integral component of our culture, and creates the basis for peaceful coexistence of people. I see the European task of the future in that we must develop even further the legal norms and institutions so as to secure a high level of legal statehood and legal culture in all of Europe.

Europe must become a continent in which no state will dominate another state, but where all states will live under domination of law. Independent courts, subjugation of state power to law, protecton of people from arbitrariness - the idea of a European law-abiding state must become the guiding star of further development!

The people are giving all rights to the state. This is expressed in free elections. The changes in the USSR in this are correctly directed.

The successful completion in Vienna of the meeting of the states that took part in the conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe proves that we have already made progress along this road, and I hope that the Conference on the Human Dimensions in Paris will impart new impulses to our efforts.

Pluralism must exist in the Europe of the future. Pluralism both inside separate societies and in their relations with each other. It must become possible to peacefully compete with each other, even while living in different political and social systems. That is why we need national and international institutes (for example on the national level—constitutional supervision, and on the international institutes of the type of the Council of Europe with a European Court of Human Rights), which we should use in full and expand.

We need demilitarization and deideologization of West-East relations. We must expand and strengthen our cooperation. The peaceful European order, under which borders will lose their power to divide and nations will be able to live without fear next to each other, is no longer a figment of our imagination. The chances for the establishment of such an order have considerably grown.

Global challenges have been thrown to humanity on the threshold of the third millennium, and states and nations can deal with them only jointly. Mikhail Gorbachev's visit must open the prospects for joint dealing with these tasks. No one should ever forget in our country or in the USSR that German-Soviet relations are of paramount importance for all Europe. We are warned by those who have died in two world wars and we are inspired by many years of good cooperation. All Europe, and I include the USA and Canada into it, will only win from this.

Comments on Visit Noted

PM2306143589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Unnamed own correspondent dispatch: "FRG-United States: Genscher in Washington"]

[Text] Washington—The results of M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the FRG were one of the central topics of conversations between the U.S. leadership and FRG Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher in Washington.

"I briefed U.S. President Bush and Secretary of State Baker on M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the FRG and the concept of a pan-European home which was raised in the joint Soviet-West German statement," Genscher said during a meeting with journalists in the Watergate Hotel lobby. "We expressed a shared view that this document is of great importance for the future of relations between the West and the East. It clearly points out that the pan-European home includes the United States and Canada—they are historically a part of Europe even though geographically they are quite remote. All this testifies that the USSR has no intention of 'driving a wedge' in relations between West Europe and the United States."

H.-D. Genscher noted the "great changes" taking place in the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in East Europe. The Western countries, he declared, must help the course of the reforms occurring there. We must not strive, he said, for one side to triumph over the other; the main point is to achieve a triumph for universal human values.

The FRG foreign minister also declared that the Western countries' response to events in China was discussed in conversations with the U.S. leadership. In his words, the United States and the FRG advocated postponement of the examination of PRC applications for loans and credits by international financial institutions to which they belong.

Cited on East-West Ties

LD2406002189 Moscow TASS in English 1958 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Bonn June 23 TASS—Hans-Dietrich Genscher, FRG foreign minister, pointed to the importance of a joint statement signed during Gorbachev's recent visit to the Federal Republic. The document "indicates the road to Europe which is building a better future and is prepared to meet any global challenge", Genscher told an international seminar in Ebenhausen, Bavaria, today. That statement reflected the most important principles of new thinking in the area of political security, he said.

These principles include renunciation of the striving for preponderance over the other side and respect for its security interests, removal of tension and its causes as the prerequisite for political and military stability, discarding the enemy image, openness and democratisation of society, the exercise of human rights in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act.

The foreign minister also declared for an East-West constructive dialogue in the area of security, arms control and disarmament, for reaching arrangements in the area of disarmament, for reducing the potentials of the armed forces of the sides to the minimum level sufficient for defence. And he noted that measures for disarmament in one area should not be compensated for by arms build-up in another. Genscher emphasised the importance of working out effective forms for the prevention of military conflicts. As a fresh example of the implementation of this principle he pointed to the recent signing of the Soviet-U.S. agreement on the prevention of dangerous military activity, as well as on the establishment of Bonn-Moscow hotline, the agreement on which had been reached during the recent Soviet-West German summit meeting.

He said countries of East and West have embarked on the road of creating a lasting and fair peace order in Europe which is assuming ever more real contours. The decades of stagnation and tension are receding to the past. Confrontation is being replaced with cooperation. "All this gives us a chance and obliges us to participate vigorously in the construction of peaceful and stable Europe", the minister said.

Deputy Foreign Minister on Bonn Statement

AU2306115689 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 23 Jun 89 p 6

[Josef Riedmiller report: "Bonn Statement Serves as a Model"]

[Text] Tutzing, 22 June—In a talk with SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy said that the "Bonn statement" signed by Gorbachev and Kohl last week is a "document of a new kind." Petrovskiy, who participated in the Fourth International Tutzing Colloquium said that, even though the statement has a two-sided character, it can be used as a model for similar agreements. It establishes a basis for cooperation at a higher level and aims at specific actions.

The "Bonn" statement has special qualities compared with other documents of this kind. With it, two states with different social systems demonstrated for the first time that they are not only able to philosophize about the events in the world but also to find a guideline for joint actions and the development of cooperation with partnership relations. The agreement serves not only its signatories but European and international politics. Concerning the "common European home," Petrovskiy said that the realities that exist in Europe have to be taken into account when it is built; there must be room under its roof for all those who live in Europe. The most important process that is currently underway is the renewal of the European policy, which is also expressed in the Helsinki documents. It is very important to expand the already existing level of cooperation in all directions. One must not permit problems to accumulate; otherwise they might give rise to dangers. However, the European home cannot be separated by an Iron Curtain or a "blind wall" from other continents, Petrovskiy stated.

Asked about the situation in Poland and Hungary, Petrovskiy said that a "social experiment" is being carried out there. Every country has to solve its own problem—in its own way. There is enough experience and knowledge to respond effectively to the challenges. The unity of the socialist countries does not mean uniformity. Unity results from solving those questions that emerge on the path toward a new model of socialism, Petrovskiy noted.

Gerasimov Views 'Gorbomania' Phenomenon in FRG

18070670 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 20 Jun 89 p 7

[Report by Genadiy Gerasimov: "Toward a Diagnosis of Popularity"]

[Text] Bonn-Moscow—Christian Funk from Cologne greeted M.S. Gorbachev in his own way: by building an ice sculpture of the SS-20 missile—the one which until recently was aimed at the FRG and was destroyed in keeping with the Soviet-American Treaty for Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles. Its melting under the hot sun that was shining on the day of M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the FRG was to have symbolized the warming of East-West relations.

To write about M.S. Gorbachev's trips abroad the newspapers must send not only observers with cold reason but also commentators with warm hearts. It is more difficult

to analyze the psychological aspects of the visits than diplomatic documents. But such an analysis is necessary: A change in the public attitude leads to a change in policy since policy, in order to be successful, must adequately reflect attitudes.

John Kampfner from the British newspaper DAILY TELEGRAPH wrote about the meeting between the high Soviet guest and the workers in Dortmund: "Their ovation was the culmination of an unusual visit when in 4 days M.S. Gorbachev completely won the hearts of the German people."

This quotation is like a refrain. Every special correspondent who was taken up in the unprecedented atmosphere of the visit had similar evaluations.

But let us move from description to analysis. Feelings are transitory and the Germans will not long be gripped by such a rapturous attitude toward our leader and, consequently, the country he represents!

"'Gorbomania' is a manifestation of true hope and not passing ecstasy," writes David Remnik from the WASHINGTON POST. "The Gorbachev phenomenon is a powerful blend of personality and politics, the ability to embody the deepest aspirations of various people and be in contact with them... It is difficult to overestimate the feelings displayed here toward M.S. Gorbachev."

What are the hopes of the usually reserved Germans who are welcoming the Soviet leader so warmly?

In the opinion of FRG president Richard von Weizsacker, M.S. Gorbachev's popularity among the people of his country is explained by the fact that in him they see a politician who presents prospects for a peaceful life—previously one of the main goals of the politician was a life without war, and these are not the same thing.

In reality life without war in Europe depended on the principle: "If you want peace, prepare for war." Following this principle, as European history shows, has led to war. And after the last war it led to the "cold war" with its ever-present possibility of becoming "hot."

M.S. Gorbachev's visit and the principally important joint declaration are regarded as a formal end to the "cold war."

Theodor Eschenburg from Tubingen University, answering the question of why the Germans are "completely charmed" by M.S. Gorbachev, said: "Ultimately the matter amounts to our special fear of military conflict—an understandable fear. We do not want another war, and Mikhail Gorbachev is the person who can release us from this fear."

This opinion is typical.

At the same time Funk's ice missile did not manage to melt fully: During the night somebody destroyed it. Probably someone to whom "Gorbomania" is a threat, who wants everything to remain the way it is.

In the general enthusiasm of the meeting voices of dissatisfaction were simply not heard.

But the apprehension was palpable in England, the United States, and France.

A number of public figures from these countries had in common a certain dissatisfaction with what seemed to them to be an excessive political independence on the part of the FRG which had begun to formulate new principles for relating to the Soviet Union in a special document which in the FRG is already called the "Bonn Declaration."

In the commentaries of British newspapers one senses a frustration over missed opportunities during M.S. Gorbachev's recent visit to Great Britain. But the British simply were not ready to go so far. Even the liberal GUARDIAN warns against falling into euphoria in the form of the Soviet-West German "sugar cake covered with whipped cream decorations."

In Washington one could hear discussions of West German "naivete." As though from that distance it is easier to see our country's new image. Of course, the Germans can see it better.

The Anglo-American jealousy can be felt but the main thing, obviously, is that the joint Soviet-West German declaration discusses a new political thinking, and this contradicts the adherence to the old dogmas in NATO circles. The situation is reflected by the cartoon reproduced here from the British newspaper THE TIMES: a man getting a suntan, not wanting to act on principle after opening up a newspaper bearing the headline "Cold War Over" grumbles: "I'm not sure I want to thank the Russians for this weather."

Both sides came to "this weather"—meeting one another half way.

"Gorbomania" is a powerful sociopolitical breakthrough to peace and not only for the people of the FRG.

Silayev, FRG Economic Minister Discuss Ties

PM2106105389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jun 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting Held"]

[Text] On 16 June I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received A. Schmidt, Hessen (FRG) minister of economics, technology, and transport, who is in the Soviet Union with a group of representatives of the public and the business world.

During the conversation they discussed matters of interest to both sides concerning the prospects for mutually advantageous economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between Soviet enterprises and organizations and enterprises in Hessen. It was noted in particular that the impressive results of M.S. Gorbachev's official visit to the FRG that has just ended, and his speech in Cologne to eminent representatives of the FRG economy will have a positive effect in terms of intensifying cooperation in all spheres of economic collaboration between the two countries.

Britain's Thatcher Receives Sakharov

LD2406011489 Moscow TASS in English 1916 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] London June 23 TASS—British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher today received Academician Andrey Sakharov, a member of the new Soviet Congress of People's Deputies who is here at the invitation of the Foreign Office's information department.

A British Government spokesman said that Thatcher and Sakharov had had a very full discussion of domestic developments in the Soviet Union and that the prime minister had expressed support for what President Gorbachev was trying to accomplish.

Latin America & Caribbean

Negroponte Appointment 'Perturbs' Mexicans

PM2106134189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jun 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 5

[A. Cherepanov dispatch: "Mexico: Negroponte Again"]

[Text] Mexico City—By all indications, John Negroponte will be the new U.S. ambassador to Mexico. The appointment was announced back in February this year, and he had already started packing his cases when a delay occurred in the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Ultimately the committee members voted in favor, and the only thing left to obtain was consent by Congress.

It would seem a routine matter—the appointment of an ambassador. But what has attracted such keen attention by Mexicans to the appointment of this specific person? J. Negroponte is 49 years old, a career diplomat, and—according to the Mexican newspaper EXCELSIOR—"a conservative from head to toe." Just one snippet from his career. While a political counselor at the U.S. Embassy in Saigon Negroponte was one of the advocates of continuing the war in Vietnam and, despite H. Kissinger's offer, categorically refused to take part in the drafting of the Paris agreement.

A quiet period followed—work in Ecuador, Greece, and the Department of State in Washington. People remembered him under R. Reagan, when a tough man was needed in Central America. Negroponte, who was appointed ambassador to Honduras in September 1981, became not only a wonderful executor but to a certain extent also a maker of Reagan's Central American policy in the region.

Zuan Almendarez [first name as transliterated], the noted Mexican political scientist, had this to say about him: "Negroponte was the author and executor of the undeclared war against Nicaragua and the occupation of Honduras." The Contras really worshiped the U.S. ambassador, calling him "Comandante Negroponte." The residents of Honduras had a different opinion of him. "For several years on end he trampled our dignity in the mud," I was told by an Honduran parliamentarian. "Honduras became a U.S. colony, and remains one to this day. Negroponte is a clever, sly, and imperious person."

It was under him that the U.S. aggression against Nicaragua developed its most sophisticated forms; it was under him that Honduras became a U.S. bridgehead in Central America. Negroponte was a fierce opponent of the Contadora Group and of all peace initiatives for settling the regional conflict.

The ambassador receded into the background once more from early 1985. The "Iran-Contras" scandal touched him only slightly. But here he is again, emerging in the foreground, this time under the Bush administration.

Of course, Mexico is not Honduras, and the strong-arm methods which Negroponte always preferred are not suitable for solving the problems of Mexico's highly complex relations with the United States. But should his new appointment not be perceived as a return to Reagan's old methods of diktat in relations with Latin America? People in Mexico itself and in neighboring countries would like an answer to this question which perturbs many of them.

Political & Social

Supreme Soviet Resumes Work After 2-Week Recess

Radio, TV Coverage Detailed

LD2406211689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1740 GMT 24 Jun 89

[From "TV Viewers Companion" presented by Marina Fedotova]

[Text] The first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the new Supreme Soviet, opens on Monday, the 26th, as you know. After all of us were glued to the work of the Congress of People's Deputies, I think that you must all of course be concerned to find out how the work of the session will be covered. Central Television and All-Union Radio will broadcast the sittings of the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet beginning on 26 June on the Second All-Union channel and the Mayak radio program. You remember that it was the same when the Congress of People's Deputies was on. The times of broadcasts will be shown in daily program previews in coordination with the USSR Supreme Soviet after the agenda has been approved and the order of work at the session has been determined. That was our first announcement. So please follow closely the television program previews that will be published in newspapers.

Broadcasting Arrangements Noted

LD2606073789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] The first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet today resumed at the Kremlin. A session of the Soviet of Nationalities began at 1000. The session of the Soviet of the Union will open at 1600.

We'll be bringing you news of the work of the chambers of the Supreme Soviet on Mayak and on the First Radio Program. As before, the work of the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet will be extensively covered on television. On the Second Television Program, today's broadcast will begin at 2015. On the First Radio Program, the broadcast on the work of the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet will go out at 1930.

The times of the direct relays will be announced after the agenda and procedure of the session have been confirmed.

Joint Session Scheduled for 27 Jun

LD2606064589 Moscow TASS in English 0639 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June 26 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent: The chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet resumed their work today after a two-week recess. A sitting of the Council of Nationalities began in the morning, and the Council of the Union will meet in the afternoon.

They are to decide organisational matters and elect one more deputy chairman in each of them. It must be recalled that one post of deputy chairman remained vacant in each chamber because the nominees did not poll the required majority of votes.

The chambers are expected to endorse the composition of standing commissions and consider an agenda for further work of the session.

A TASS correspondent was told in the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet that three major packages of problems are to be considered during the present session which will apparently continue for not less than a month.

The first one concerns the formation of the government and other state bodies. Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, is expected to make a report on the composition of the government tomorrow, June 27.

Last week the parliamentary committees and the commissions of the chambers held hearings on candidatures suggested by Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov were upheld. [sentence as received]

The second series of matters includes the organisation of the accomplishment of the assignments of the Congress of People's Deputies (which was in session late in May and early in June).

During the congress, the participant sent a number of tasks to the Supreme Soviet and the government, and these tasks are now due to be embodied in specific decisions.

And finally, the third package comprises first-priority draft laws which are connected with the refinement of legislation, the ratification of international treaties, and the status of the deputy.

A joint meeting of the chambers is expected to be held on Tuesday [27 Jun].

Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities Session

'Some' Sessions To Be Relayed

LD2606080789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0730 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] The first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet is continuing at the Kremlin. At 1000 the session of the Soviet of Nationalities was opened by the session's chairman, Chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities Deputy Nishanov.

The deputies of this chamber of the USSR Supreme Soviet began their work by considering the candidature for the post of deputy chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities. After detailed discussion, a vote was taken. Deputy Oleynik was elected as deputy chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet by a majority of votes.

The deputies then began discussing the agenda for the session. The session of the Soviet of the Union will open at 1600.

We announce that, by the decision of the the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Central Television and All-Union Radio will broadcast direct relays only of some of the joint session of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, at which the most important issues will be examined. The work of the other joint sessions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and of all of the separate sessions, will be covered in special television and radio news bulletins.

Today on the First Radio Program, the diary of the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet will be broadcast at 1930, and on the second program of Central Television at 2015. News on the work of the session will be broadcast regularly on Mayak and in the "Latest News." Times of direct television and radio relays of the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet will be announced separately.

Oleynik Elected Deputy Chairman

LD2606085989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0801 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] As you know, the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet is continuing its work in Moscow today. We now go over to the correspondents desk of All-Union Radio in the Kremlin:

[Correspondent Korablev] Vladimir Korablev at the microphone. As you know, a session of the Soviet of Nationalities is now taking place. It began with the procedure for the election of the deputy chairman of the chamber. Rafik Nishanovich Nishanov proposed the candidature of Ukrainian poet Boris Oleynik. This was supported by many deputies, but there were other proposals, too. In particular, several deputies put forward the name of Yevdokiya Aleksandrovna Gayer. No doubt you remember her emotional speech at the congress. But for those who haven't met her, let me recall that she is a Nanai by nationality, an ethnographer by profession, and is best acquainted with the problems of the low-population peoples of the North.

Another deputy was also nominated for this post—Tatar writer Tufan Minnullin. After discussion and questions put to the candidates the voting took place: Boris Ilyich Oleynik was elected deputy chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities by a clear majority of votes. I believe that choice was a good one: We know Boris Oleynik not just as a fine poet but as a thoughtful investigator into the problems of relations between the nationalities, and of course his experience will be very useful in the office of deputy chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities.

Then the deputies started discussing the agenda. Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, made a speech on this matter. I shall not be able to go through every point on the agenda because there are more than 20 of them. What is more, during the course of the discussion the deputies added other proposals to it. But on the whole this is what the deputies will be engaged with at this session. They have to approve the composition of the committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the commissions of its chambers, form the USSR Council of Ministers, elect the People's Control Committee and the Supreme Court, and approve the composition of the collegia of the Procuracy and the State Board of Arbitration.

You know that the Congress of People's Deputies gave the Supreme Soviet a number of instructions, and it is natural that fulfillment of them has to be organized precisely. Deputies will also discuss how this is to be done. A large part of the work is connected with future legislative work. I should say that the deputies at this session are to examine a number of draft laws. I shall name some of them, on the quality of output and defending the rights of the consumer, on the work of inventors, on the status of judges, on public organizations, and other matters. Some of them have already been published and are being discussed in the press. The deputies will only be acquainted with others at this session. This will be the first reading—we are also encountering this term for the first time in our parliamentary proceedings.

The agenda of the session of the Soviet of Nationalities has been approved, but I shall remind you that both chambers should approve it, so today there will also be discussion of it in the Soviet of the Union. The session of the USSR Supreme Soviet continues work. There I end my report from the Kremlin from the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Organizational Matters Discussed

LD2606094289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] The chamber of the Soviet of Nationalities began its work at 1000 today. Essentially, it is continuing to examine a number of organizational issues. The post of one of the deputy chairmen remained vacant. Two candidates were proposed for it: Comrade Gayer, who represents the Krasnoyarsk national-territorial constituency, and Deputy Oleynik from the Ukraine. By a majority of votes the deputies elected to the post Boris Ilich Oleynik, writer and well-known public activist.

Next, with much involvement of people's deputies, the agenda for the USSR Supreme Soviet session was considered. It is proposed that it will last until 4 August, and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium proposed 21 items for the agenda. Deputies put forward a number of additional proposals. In particular, Deputy Likhanov proposed the inclusion of a decision repealing the award of the Order of Victory to Comrade Brezhnev and repealing the decision awarding the Lenin Prize to Brezhnev. Deputies also proposed to examine a number of additional bills, in particular, about nationwide referenda. There was also the issue of the work of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, in connection with which Comrade Lukyanov provided detailed explanations about the manner in which it is formed and described how it is constituted.

A number of deputies insisted that laws on informal associations and the deputies' status be examined. Deputy Korshunov, who represents trade unions, considers it necessary to examine during this session, at least in part, a bill on pensions. The working procedure of the Supreme Soviet session was also examined in detail.

Taking part in the debate were not only members of the Supreme Soviet but also many people's deputies who are not members of that body. Essentially, the birth process of a new parliamentary structure was in progress. For example, the following question was also examined: How should the deputies be dressed in the Supreme Soviet chamber. Deputy Shuvalov, for example, considers that appearing in only a shirt, rather then formal dress, is inpermissible.

As we all know, commissions of the Supreme Soviet chambers and its committees were formed earlier. But so far they have not been approved—I mean their personal composition. This issue is also being examined at the current sitting. Debates on it are in progress right now. The greatest number of reservations was caused by the composition of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security. Deputies from Lithuania, Kazakhstan, and Latvia are insisting that republican representatives be included in the committee.

Since this morning, our editorial office has been getting quite a few calls about direct relays on radio and television. We can tell you that, by a decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, direct relays will be made only from some joint sittings of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers, which will be examining the most important issues. We shall be telling you about the work of other joint as well as all separate sittings of the chambers in special news bulletins on television and the radio. Of course, we shall be trying to do it in as much detail as possible, considering the great interest among our listeners in the work of the Supreme Soviet.

Today, in the radio first program, you will be able to hear the USSR Supreme Soviet Session Diary. It will be broadcast at 1930. We shall be informing you in good time about the transmission times of direct relays, both on the radio and on television, from sittings of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Committee Memberships Examined

LD2606112689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Excerpts] As we have already reported, meetings of the USSR Supreme Soviet resumed in the Kremlin today. We now go over to the correspondents' desk of All-Union Radio.

[Correspondent Nikiforov] Hello, esteemed comrade radio listeners. Andrey Nikiforov at the microphone. [passage omitted]

The agenda of the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet has been approved, with deputies tabling proposals elaborating on the agenda. These proposals concerned the bills which deputies are to study and discuss, and the activities of members of the Supreme Soviet and its Presidium. Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov answered numerous questions from deputies. He gave explanations concerning a number of proposals submitted, and all of them will be taken into account in the work of the commissions and committees.

Then the deputies got down to approving the compositions of these commissions and committees. I remind you that each chamber has four commissions. They are different. In the Soviet of Nationalities, for instance, these are the commissions for Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations; for Questions of the Social and Economic Development of Union and Autonomous Republics and Autonomous Oblasts and Okrugs; for Consumer Goods, Trade, and Municipal, Consumer, and Other Services to the Population; and for Questions of the the Development of Culture, Language, National and International Traditions, and Protection of the Historical Hwritage. As you can see, the range of questions is fairly wide. But it concerns the economic and social life of each nation and ethnic group in our country. As to the committees, there are 14 which are common to both chambers of the Supreme Soviet. They cover literally all political, economic and social problems our society is facing. The composition of all four commissions was approved by a majority of votes.

During the examination of the composition of the committees a number of questions arose regarding deputies' participation in them. The point is that as long ago as during the congress a poll was conducted as to which of the deputies would like to work in one or another committee. For that reason, additions regarding candidacies were entered in the list. It is true they are very insignificant.

After a brief interval the Soviet of Nationalities resumed the examination of the committees' composition. The Committee for International Affairs made up of 44

deputies was approved virtually without discussion. But when discussing the composition of the Defense and State Security Committee—the plan provides for 40 people—the deputies also mentioned other names, proposing that the composition be expanded. But a compromise decision was adopted: to take this into account during the rotation of the composition of commissions and committees. The composition of this was also approved by a majority of votes.

The deputies of the Soviet of Nationalities are now continuing to discuss the composition of the committees. We will tell you of the results of this work in subsequent latest news position. At this point I end my report on the work of the chamber of the Supreme Soviet.

Defense Committee Makeup Debated

LD2606115689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1057 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Excerpt] Moscow, 26 Jun (TASS)—[passage omitted] The Soviet of nationalities today discussed the agenda for the further work of the session. It contains more than 20 points: approval of the membership of the government, ratification of a number of international treaties, and examination of a large number of draft laws.

In the course of discussion the deputies put forward a number of supplementary proposals. In particular, it was stated that already during the present session it is necessary to hold the first reading of the pensions bill, define more precisely the status of the chairmen of the chambers, and expedite the drafting of the law on the status of deputies.

Proposals not within the competence of the Supreme Soviet were also voiced. For example, Deputy Albert Likhanov, chairman of the board of the Soviet Children's Fund, considers that the Supreme Soviet Presidium, which is responsible under the Constitution for awards, should examine the question of depriving the former Soviet leader, Leonid Brezhnev, of the highest military decoration, the Order of Victory, awarded to him at the beginning of 1978. That award, the only one to have been made just over 30 years after the end of World War II, is regarded by many people in the country as one of the underserved distinctions conferred upon the former leader of the party and country.

The chamber approved the agenda and decided that the draft laws will be debated, as a rule, in two readings. After the second reading, it is envisaged that the bills will be finalized in the parliamentary committees and the commissions of the chambers, and published in the press. Reports on matters included in the agenda are to be heard in joint sessions of the chambers, and discussion of the matters will take place, as the chambers may decide, both at separate and at the joint sessions.

Then the chamber approved the composition of the standing commissions and parliamentary committees.

The greatest discussion flared up with regard to the composition of the Committee on Issues of Defense and State Security of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Several deputies voiced doubts concerning the committee's ability to carry out its function of control since, in their opinion, the majority in it is made up of representatives of the defense sector of the economy. Nor did the committee's composition satisfy some deputies from Kazakhstan and Lithuania, who did not see any representatives of their republics here. Responding to these comments, Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, replied that like the other standing bodies of the Soviet parliament, this committee includes people's deputies who are professionally involved in these matters. As far as the additional inclusion of representatives from Lithuania and Kazakhstan in this committee is concerned, then, as the chairman explained, the resolution of this issue also depends on the opinion of the Soviet of the Union. The parliamentary committees are formed by the chambers on principles of parity, with approval of their composition both by the Soviet of the Union and by the Soviet of nationaltiies being obligatory. The chamber approved by majority vote the composition of this and other committees and commissions, making some personnel changes. Let us note that some committees were approved unanimously—a phenomenon which is fairly rare in the current session.

In the second half of the day there will be a session of the other chamber—the Soviet of the Union.

As has already been reported, today's session of this chamber of the Supreme Soviet was not broadcast on radio and television, although there had been plans for this. As the TASS correspondent at the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet was informed, in view of the fact that parliament's work has entered a lengthy working state, it has been recognized that it would not be expedient to conduct a live relay of all sessions. Everything that is most interesting and important will be set out in daily information progams on radio and television. This does not, however, rule out some sessions being relayed live.

Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union Session

Committee Membership on Agenda

LD2606122189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] The Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet has just started work in the Kremlin. It is to consider issues similar to those examined by the deputies of the Soviet of Nationalities this morning. In particular these concern the examination and establishment of the membership of the chamber's commissions and the USSR Supreme Soviet committees, and approval of the agenda and the session's working procedure as a whole. The deputies will study a number of bills and issues of current legislation and ratification of the USSR's international agreements.

Primakov Chairs Union Session

LD2606125889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1213 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow, 26 June (TASS)—The TASS parliamentary correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

This afternoon the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet was convened for its sitting. The deputies will discuss the same range of issues as the members of the other chamber, the Soviet of Nationalities, which conducted its sitting today up to lunch. These issues consist of the election of the deputy chairman of the chamber—as in the Soviet of Nationalities, of the two posts of deputy one as yet remains vacant—the affirmation of the agenda of the sitting and, the make-up of the parliamentary committees and permanent commissions of the chamber.

Yevgeniy Primakov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union, has the chair at the sitting. Anatoliy Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, is taking part in the sitting.

Mokanu Elected Deputy Chairman

LD2606141289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Excerpts] At the USSR Supreme Soviet session. We go over to our correspondents in the Kremlin:

[Novitskaya] Martina Novitskaya reporting.

We have already reported that this morning the Soviet of Nationalities sat at the Kremlin. [passage omitted] The work of the Soviet of the Union today is proceeding in a similar way. It started its sitting at 1600 [1200 GMT]. And the first issue examined by the deputies was the election of the deputy chairman of the chamber. Yevgeniy Maksimovich Primakov proposed Aleksandr Aleksandorvich Mokanu as a candidate for the post. At present he is the chairman of Moldavia's Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The deputies' attitude to his candidacy was benevolent but demanding. They asked questions, which were far from easy, trying to clarifiy his position on a whole range of issues, from a question about his attitude on the status of national language, to agrarian policy conception.

I should generally say that the people's deputies are not regarding any of the issues presented for debate as mere formalities. That is why in examining candidacies they strive to appraise equally the candidate's personal qualities, their erudition and their readiness, which is no less important, to leave their post—quite high in this instance—for the sake of work at the USSR Supreme Soviet. It goes without saying, by the way, that Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Mokanu expressed preference for work in the parliament. And that is why the debate on Comrade Mokanu's candidacy today lasted for nearly an hour. His other replies were so exhaustive and specific that the deputies decided not to waste time in debate but go straight over to the vote. And the majority of votes went in favor of electing Mokanu deputy chairman of the Soviet of the Union.

Now the deputies have moved to a debate on the session agenda. It is the same as the one approved by the Council of Nationalities. I shall remind you that the composition of the USSR Supreme Soviet committees and the commissions of its chambers has to be established, the Council of Ministers formed, the People's Control Committee and the Supreme Court elected, and the collegia of the USSR Procuracy and State Arbitration Service approved.

Prior to the debate on the agenda, in connection with the fact that it includes debate on 16 bills, Primakov, chairman of the Soviet, said that first the bills had to be worked on by commissions and committees, that is, the inclusion in the agenda did not at all mean that they would necessarily be adopted during the current session. Nevertheless, the inclusion of the bills on the agenda led to a debate. For example, Deputy Burlatskiy expressed his regret and bewilderment at the fact that many of these laws, or rather bills, were imperfect. And in connection with this he directly raised the issue of who, after all, was going to write the laws. Perhaps, proposed the deputy, they should be composed in commissions and committees with assistance from experts and professionals well versed in the issues, and only then put on the agenda of the session.

Well, I don't suppose that the debate on the agenda is going to end any minute now. We shall tell you how it went on in our later programs. Meanwhile I shall conclude my report on the USSR Supreme Soviet session in progress at the Kremlin.

23 Jun Supreme Soviet Presidium Session Reported

LD2306135989 Moscow TASS in English 1336 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June 23 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

A meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet chaired by Mikhail Gorbachev took place in the Kremlin today.

The meeting was mainly devoted to practical questions connected with the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. On June 10 the session adjourned its work and at the beginning of next week the chambers will gather again.

The Presidium confirmed the agenda of the session. It is likely that the parliament will discuss new members of the government. Candidates were already discussed in the parliamentary committees and chamber commissions this week. And not all candidates proposed by

Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov were supported by the deputies. Yevgeniy Primakov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union (one of the parliamentary chambers) described the discussion during the meeting of the Presidium today.

The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet also formed commissions on awards, citizenship and appeals.

A commission on the problems of Meskhetian Turks has also been formed. It will look into the recent outbursts of violence against Meskhetian Turks in some parts of Uzbekistan.

Supreme Soviet Commissions, Committees Meet 23 Jun

Shevardnadze Proposed Foreign Minister

LD2306204889 Moscow TASS in English 2017 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June 23 TASS—A TASS parliamentary correspondent reporting from the Kremlin:

A new stage in the work of the USSR foreign policy agency, this is how the hearings in the Committee for International Affairs at the USSR Supreme Soviet were summed up by Eduard Shevardnadze. The committee today recommended him unanimously to the post of minister of foreign affairs of the Soviet Union. This recommendation has been referred for endorsement of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Presenting this candidature to people's deputies this evening, Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, emphasised Shevardnadze's large role in the implementation of the Soviet leadership's foreign policy course. The successes of this course include the working out of the concept of a nuclear weapon- free world, the conclusion of the Soviet-American treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, the development of the European process, the signing of the Geneva Accords on Afghanistan, the normalisation of Soviet-Chinese relations.

With the beginning of the work of the Committee on International Affairs a new quality is imparted to the activity of the country's foreign policy agency and there is a full guarantee against making decisions in camera, Shevardnadze emphasised in his speech. Summing up the main tendencies of the USSR foreign policy, he said that it is invariably aimed at peace, at the assertion of common human interests. Noting that a favorable situation is being established all along the Soviet Union's borders, Shevardnadze said there is yet no reason to assert that disarmament has become irreversible. The world economic system remains complex. But life shows that the Soviet leadership has correctly chosen the line for meeting the challenges of the times.

Other candidates to the future Cabinet of Ministers were discussed in committees and commissions of the chambers on the same day. There was a lively debating on the candidature to the post of the head of the financial bodies. "Finance minister is the person who shares out work and pay for it". This is how candidate to the post of Finance Minister Valentin Pavlov described the essence of his future work.

He corroborated this statement by a well-substantiated programme of the reshaping of the state budget, and by anti-inflation measures and steps for cutting state expenditures he suggested. He thus won over people's deputies who were initially quite critical. There was applause after the voting, incidentally, for the first time during the work of the commissions of the chambers and the committees of parliament dealing with social and economic matters.

Panels Debate Government Candidacies

PM2606112589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jun 89 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Report by correspondents A. Lyutyy, A. Murtazayev, and A. Chernyak: "Soviet Government Being Formed. PRAVDA Correspondents Report on Work of USSR Supreme Soviet Committees and Commissions"]

[Text] The Soviet parliament is working. Things are heated now, in the literal sense of the word, in the USSR Supreme Soviet commissions and committees.

The would-be government members have repeatedly to take out a handkerchief to wipe the sweat from their face. The deputies are thoroughly examining the candidacies for the future government cabinet and the composition of the USSR Supreme Court and Prosecutor's Office. Running ahead, let us say that not all get what they want: "To recommend for approval to the Supreme Soviet." All in the proper order, however. N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, was putting forward candidates for the posts of his deputies to the chambers' commissions and the USSR Supreme Soviet committees. He recommended A.P. Biryukova for the post of leader of the Bureau for the Country's Social Development.

Aleksandra Pavlovna had not had time to properly complete her speech before she was hit by a hail of questions. In vain did R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, try with his characteristic diplomacy to halt the "interrogation under duress." Deputies simply rushed to the microphones and were nervous because some invisible hand was periodically switching them off.

Perhaps this kind of trial of glasnost somewhat inflamed the atmosphere, but the nature of the questions to Biryukova repeatedly went beyond the bounds of ethical

norms, which every parliamentarian is obliged to honor even in the most heated debate. Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov even deemed it necessary to put this request to the deputies:

"Let us show a little tact," he said. "For we are talking about a lady. Aleksandra Pavlovna is here, and every word will remain in her heart. Let us be more charitable to one another."

Aleksandra Pavlovna herself was not at all embarrassed. She was not unsettled even by an allusion to her age, which, in the opinion of some deputies, cannot fail to affect her work. She declared that she has not once taken a sick note in the past 12 years. It was very convincingly demonstrated to those present that this can be achieved through regular sporting activities and also a healthy way of life, which, it turns out, consists in a daily 12-hour workday. This was demonstrated with such vigor and emotion that even those with the greatest doubts realized that Aleksandra Pavlovna has no intention of shortening her workday over the next 5 years and is not reckoning on needing the services of a medical center.

The range of acute questions was not limited to the topic of age. This is what we would like to remark in this respect, only certainly not in order to diminish the acuteness of the discussion but to raise the level of competence: "Examination papers" should be prepared for some deputies with more care and thought.

This question was put to A.P. Biryukova:

"Is it true that the budget for the Fourth Main Administration of the USSR Health Ministry amounts to R450 million, while it serves something like 480,000 people? Is this not too generous, since the Health Ministry allocates far more modest funds to other medical institutions?"

Well, first, the question was put by a people's deputy who could without difficulty have learned this figure from the Health Ministry and not cited unknown sources. And, second, the question is clearly within the competence of Comrade Chazov, and the people's deputy will have an opportunity to put it at the Supreme Soviet session.

"I cannot tell you the Fourth Administration's budget," A.P. Biryukova bluntly replied to the trick question. "But the figure you cite is clearly overstated. I wish to point out, incidentally, that a decision has been adopted to raise all medical services in the country to the level of the aforementioned administration. And this primarily concerns children's hospitals and medical centers and maternity homes. This is our priority task."

But, in general, the atmosphere of the sittings was still amicable. And you could not help thinking that this is how it should be when discussing our domestic concerns and urgent questions of social life. Strictness and principledness must not be at odds with a true moral atmosphere. In this connection one of the questions to N.I. Ryzhkov stuck in everyone's memory:

"Nikolay Ivanovich, in introducing Aleksandra Pavlovna to us you said so many good things about her. But we want to know her bad qualities too! Does she have any shortcomings, and what are they? Let her know them, too. And not just know them, but also rectify them."

"If I had begun my introduction by speaking of her negative features," Nikolay Ivanovich smiled, "you would at once have asked: What do we want with such a deputy chairman? But, to be serious, I would point to such a shortcoming of hers as impulsiveness in decision-making. We are well aware of this, and we always advise Aleksandra Pavlovna to carefully weigh all the pros and cons once again. Sometimes we even suspend a sitting and postpone it until the next day. But I will once again remark that she has incommensurably more positive qualities."

Questions, questions.... They have become painful, and every day they press down on us by dint of their striking abundance and the fact that they remain unresolved. And sometimes even by dint of their frightening paradoxicalness.

"How is it, Aleksandra Pavlovna," a deputy's voice rang out, "that during the years of stagnation there were salt and matches, soap and television sets in the stores, but not now? How can we attain more quickly the level of the stagnation times?"

Biryukova spoke both about salt and about matches. About the trade deficit and inflation. About the fact that yesterday we "ate up" today and even tomorrow, and that we must work hard to attain the real living standard that Soviet people deserve. You could sense knowledge of the issue in her replies. The deputies appreciated that. The decision was adopted by a majority of votes to recommend that the USSR Supreme Soviet session approve A.P. Biryukova as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development.

Introducing V.M. Kamentsev to the deputies, N.I. Ryzhkov pointed out that our society's long isolation from the outside world had been a big mistake. We had arrogantly come to believe that we could do everything ourselves, without coming into contact with the capitalist world. That mistake must be rectified as soon as possible. In this connection a great role is allocated to the Foreign Economic Commission, which is to set up in competition with our foreign trade organizations. It was precisely this department's monopoly that prevented us from establishing adequate foreign economic ties. Kamentsev is recommended for this post because, while

he was USSR minister of the fish industry in the past, he set up joint-stock companies with Western firms. He even once got a lot of stick for that, Ryzhkov recalled.

After taking the references into account, the deputies inquired how someone without the appropriate background, and ignorant of foreign languages, was aspiring to this post.

"Indeed," Vladimir Mikhaylovich replied, "we could find a good specialist with a magnificent knowledge of many foreign languages and au fait with the world market situation. I realize that my candidacy is not ideal, and I have no illusions on that score. But Nikolay Ivanovich evidently has his reasons, and he believes that a lack of work experience in the Foreign Trade Ministry is to my advantage."

"How long will it take to make the ruble a freely convertible currency? The Americans are known to have paid a lot of money for a scientific elaboration of a program for such a transformation of the Soviet ruble. But how are we working?"

"Work on transforming the ruble into a convertible currency will take a long time. It is necessary to develop the socialist market and transform the economy. Haste could have undesirable consequences. A scientific elaboration is being conducted comprehensively in many scientific institutes, and we realize it is a very serious question."

"For political reasons we buy coffee from Nicaragua and sugar from Cuba at unjustifiably high prices. Tell me, why is this done?"

"That is not quite so, because we must all the same buy these goods from somewhere. In recent years, for example, there has been a failed harvest in Cuba. And so we have spent a large amount of freely convertible currency to buy sugar on the world market. Buying it like that costs us considerably more than buying it from Cuba."

But then the questions dried up. After an exchange of opinions the deputies supported the USSR Council of Ministers chairman's proposal regarding V.M. Kamentsev.

A similar decision was adopted with regard to L.I. Abalkin. Although this is the first time he has been appointed a deputy, those present know him well, as they also do, incidentally, his program for improving the health of our economy.

It has to be said here that under existing legislation, if L.I. Abalkin is confirmed as a deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, he must relinquish his powers as a deputy. Is he prepared to do this?

"I am prepared," Leonid Ivanovich replied.

Many aspirants to ministerial posts also passed the first test. Members of the Committee for Questions of Glasnost and Citizens' Rights and Appeals and the Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, for example, listened attentively to the crime-fighting program expounded by V.V. Bakatin.

Yes, he admitted, last year a growth in crime was apparent. And it is continuing now. However, the aspirant stipulated, this growth is nothing out of the ordinary. On the whole, this trend is stable, albeit with individual deviations. Since we declassified crime statistics for the first time in 70 years of Soviet power, everyone can see for himself that the 1988 crime level was far from being the highest in our history. It was even higher during the years of stagnation. Now, it is true, we could "surpass" it. At the same time account must also be taken of the fact that Internal Affairs Ministry organs have begun not to cover up crimes as much as they used to, although the statistics remain extremely imperfect....

Even though deputies addressed a number of criticisms at our militia, the decision was adopted to recommend V.V. Bakatin as minister of internal affairs.

Judges and prosecutors are probably called upon to play the chief role in a rule-of-law state. There was much talk of this when discussing appointments to the Supreme Court and the USSR Prosecutor's Office Collegium. No, our law-enforcement organs do not meet the demands of the day in everything, deputies pointed out. And not all of those recommended by the general prosecutor and the Supreme Court chairman got the "go-ahead" in the committees. We will not name names, for the USSR Supreme Soviet session will have the final word here. In the break a question was put to Deputy N.I. Ignatovich:

"Nikolay Ivanovich, you voted against many Supreme Court members. Why, if it is not a secret?"

"I am a jurist. Yes, I voted against the leaders of the Supreme Court. I have no personal motives for this. What is more, many comrades impress me as individuals. I voted against them because I believe that the Supreme Court, of which these persons were members earlier, has on its conscience many arbitrary and sometimes even voluntarist interpretations of the law. A Supreme Court plenum frequently gives so-called directives which distort the law. As is known, the law is subject to literal interpretation, not a broad or narrow one.

"That is the first point. Second. I have always been opposed to an accusatory bias in both the investigation and the court. I believe that it must not be seen as an extraordinary occurrence when an acquittal is given. Our court system now, headed by the Supreme Court, has not ensured a proper degree of justice in our country. And, I repeat, the people who have been discussed here today are largely to blame...."

On observing the debate, we were sorry that television viewers were not seeing it. We could not help recalling that the live television relay from the Congress of People's Deputies on the second all-union channel lasted 95 hours and 20 minutes. Every hour of broadcasting cost approximately R40,000.

Was the expenditure recouped? It can already be said today: Yes, and with interest. However, is it realistic to measure in specific sums the giant step that we took along the road of glasnost during the congress with the help of television?

We pondered this at the joint hearings in the two USSR Supreme Soviet commissions which discussed the candidacy for the post of chairman of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. The discussion dealt not just with a specific person—in this case M.F. Nenashev. The pitch of the debate—on the whole, an amicable debate—was high. The discussion was characterized by exactingness. And questions were put which were "on the tip of the tongue" of all of us seated by our television screen. We will cite a small part of the debate, albeit without recourse to stenographic accuracy.

"Whom personally do you obey over the 'hot line'? Who gives you orders?"

"We, for example, are linked with the Central Committee Ideological Department. But the nature of our ties has changed. Sometimes certain editors even want something not to be allowed.... We cooperate more and more with the Supreme Soviet."

"Do you yourself act as a censor?"

"I have not yet acted as a censor. In my opinion the chairman of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting must fulfill the functions not of a censor but of a chief editor. He must exercise political leadership over editorial boards. Not prohibit but persuade. If he disagrees with something, he should sit at the same table with his colleagues and prove his case to them."

...Incidentally, the question of censorship in television was raised quite acutely in the hearings. And it appeared that the spirit of prohibition has still not been fully eradicated even among the people's deputies themselves. The outcome was, for example, the "Musical Ring" with its bizarre participants.

"Common sense is needed in everything," M.F. Nenashev believes. "A definite culture of selection is needed. But you must not take an extreme position either. I myself, for example, do not like rhythm. I like the melody, but I have a calm attitude to such broadcasts, because I know that many people like them."

To judge from the atmosphere in the hearings, the deputies favor pluralistic television with a multicolor palette of opinions. But this multicolor feature must not turn into embellishment. Life on the screen must not be more beautiful than it is in actual fact. Some people leveled complaints—quite rightly, we believe—at the "Vremya" program. Perhaps it is time to abandon announcers and the reading of the "protocol"? Perhaps the time has come to switch to publicistic commentary on a video sequence [publitsistichnoye kommentirovaniye videoryada]? M.F. Nenashev largely agreed with these proposals.

When at the end of the hearings both commissions recommended M.F. Nenashev's candidacy for approval by the Supreme Soviet, the deputies supported many of his proposals.

...The Soviet parliament is working. It has broad powers, as well as, incidentally, serious problems that have to be resolved. We pin great hopes on it. The discussion of candidacies is continuing. The Soviet Government is being formed on a most democratic basis. Those who have gotten through the committees and commissions face a second test—approval by the USSR Supreme Soviet. Its session will start work next week.

Ryzhkov on Social Program Delay

LD2406144589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] For the 6th day in succession, deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet are continuing work in parliamentary commissions and committees to discuss candidates nominated for government posts. A serious and mutually enriching discussion is under way. The candidates to posts belonging to the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium were proposed by Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov. He in his turn was asked many questions. He was asked, among other things, why the fulfillment of the social programs for the current 5-year period is being postponed. This is what the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers said:

[Begin Ryzhkov recording] Every 5-year priod, at the start of the 5-year plan period, a certain sum of money is allocated, earmarked in the 5-year national economic plan, which goes to centralized sources [pauses] centralized [pauses] certain specific concessions are made available from the center. For this 5-year period our country's State Budget provides R16 billion. To what is this money allocated? Why, in so many respects, are we in such a very difficult situation?

Of the R16 billion we paid R7.8 billion in old debts. Starting from the 24th party congress—the 24th party congress, as you know, was in 1971—how many years have passed? Eighteen years have elapsed. After 16-17 years we started to repay our debts. About R8 billion—that is, almost half the money—went on paying off debts.

Of course, one could have acted like this at the time: Well, comrades, we were not the ones who made the decisions; all the best, let's just forget it all. But one cannot behave in that way. This was done in the name of the government, it was done in the name of the Party Central Committee, and therefore we could not proceed in such a manner. And so, you see, half of the money is debts. What sort of debts? Well, here you are: the regional wages factor for the worker in the Urals, Kazakhstan, Kirov Oblast; supplements for uninterrupted service in the Far East, Chita Oblast, the Buryat and Tuva Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics, and so on. I could read out to you [pauses] here you are, the R8 billion are old debts, which we were compelled to repay.

Now look what happens next. Life goes on. During this time, over the first 3 years, decisions are made involving, approximately, another R3 billion, which was not provided for in any plans. What is this? Improvement in the material position of postgraduate students, undergraduate students, and students from senior classes at special secondary educational institutions—an increase in the grant, that is, costing R700 million a year. Increasing state assistance to orphans and children left without parental care, and also material provision for students at vocational technical colleges: R560 million a year. Measures to improve health care: R1.4 million. Improvement in social provision and increased allowances for those disabled from childhood, additional measures to improve living conditions for veterans, and so on and so forth—nothing very great, but nevertheless R400 million a year. There you have it. Such is the picture.

Finally, the reason I decided to give you this information is so as not to give the impression that we, taking account of the difficult financial position, have decided to kill off, so to speak, this whole centralized social problem. I want you to have objective information. I have given you the general picture. When we were looking at how we were to get through the remaining 18 months, we did indeed start to look at the measures we still had to carry out. And I can tell you that we are not removing from this 5-year plan any one of the measures envisaged by our plans for this 5-year period. The only thing to have been done, so as to somehow give a bit of breathing space in terms of money, is that we have indeed in some places slightly shifted the schedules.

Let me read you what we have rescheduled: The abolition of tax on wages up to R80 a month was one proposal. We have in fact shifted this back by a year, from 1 January 1989 as was planned, to 1 January 1990. The increase in salaries for senior staff in higher educational institutions: The schedule has been shifted from 1 September this year to 1 December, so we have indeed shifted this by 4 months. Further, we have rescheduled the increase in the length of the child-care leave on partial pay from July to December 1989.

What else is here? The increase in the period of payment of child allowances to low-income families has likewise been rescheduled to December 1989. The increase in the length of maternity leave for women has been transferred from September 1990 to December 1990. And the increase in the norms for expenditure on food in preschool institutions has been transferred from January 1990 to September 1990.

First, these schedules were nowhere stipulated by legislative acts; they were set out in our own calculations. This is why we have opted for this.

I want you to have completely objective information on this matter. We must fulfill everything we have mapped out with respect to centralized sources for this 5-year period, despite all the difficulties which have emerged in the economy—only with a few amendments of a few months. [end recording]

Ryzhkov Interviewed on Debates

PM2306151689 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Interview with N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, by TASS parliamentary correspondents Lyudmilla Shvedova and Valeriy Kiosa: "N.I. Ryzhkov: Learning To Work Together"; date, place of interview not given]

[Text] [Correspondent] The process of discussion of the candidate members of the new government in the commissions of the chambers and committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet is nearing completion. How do you assess this major and largely new work, and which elements of it would you like to note?

[Ryzhkov] In general I assess this work as unusual, in light of our previous practice. I remember the work of the old Supreme Soviet; I remember how the government was appointed. The approaches and principles by which people are guided in examining the structure of the government and its personnel differ substantially from the pattern that existed before. That is the first thing. I do not think we have ever before had such a system for forming a government and discussing it. This is the first time. Evidently, life will to some extent hone all the procedural questions in the future. But at the moment both the parliamentarians and those who are proposed for state posts are gaining experience. Indeed, we are all learning a great deal at present. A quest is in progress, and the main thing is that it is going in the right direction. Of course, in a new task there are certain defects that could be criticized—for instance, a certain lack of organization. But I am inclined to be quite calm about that because, I repeat, the main direction has been chosen correctly.

What can I note in the work of the commissions and committees? First, the informal attitude to the job. Today virtually none of the candidacies is being discussed dispassionately. On the contrary, they are being discussed with great interest, heatedly, sometimes even too emotionally. And everyone is eager to clarify the

candidates' positions and offer recommendations. This activeness has been handed down from the election campaign, the elections, and the Congress of People's Deputies. Figuratively speaking, the mighty wave of activeness that rose at the Congress has not subsided here in the commissions. Even now it is very high. The trenchancy of the discussion and the deputies' enthusiasm has also largely determined the conduct of the contenders for the posts of deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers and ministers.

All of them were spurred on and mobilized to some extent because they grasped the full seriousness of dialogue with the people who are assessing their competence and their programs for their activity. As head of government I present to the deputies only the Council of Ministers Presidium, which includes—in addition to the deputy chairmen—the minister of finance and the Council of Ministers administrator of affairs. In addition, I also present the leaders of the ministries of foreign affairs, defense, and internal affairs, and the KGB. I do this personally, present their resumes, and put forward proposals for appointment. The other ministers are presented by the deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers, who conduct the debates correspondingly.

The 3 days of work in the commissions have been satisfactory, despite the multiplicity of urgent and sometimes painful questions. It was not easy to listen to these and accept them, because much has been done, but unfortunately much has also remained less than fully resolved. I am also satisfied with the fact that the contenders were able to demonstrate their competence in the course of the debates. I think the deputies valued this. Look at the voting. The discussion of Yu.D. Maslyukov's candidacy, for instance, prompted very heated disputes. That was only to be expected, since the State Planning Committee [Gosplan] is the main economic organ. The voting was carried out with great interest. The deputies were convinced of the competence, erudition, professionalism, and worthy human qualities of the candidate. And that is what ultimately determines the result.

I am convinced that everything that is now happening in the Kremlin will go down in history. It is the beginning of a major process in our state. We are witnessing the birth of a procedure for forming a government that we only know of from hearsay, from the practice in other countries. Now we are experiencing all this for ourselves.

[Correspondent] How do you view the fact that not all the candidates received the deputies' recommendation? What is their political future, do they have any chance of becoming members of the Cabinet after all? Can the Supreme Soviet make such a decision?

[Ryzhkov] At the moment this is an untrodden path, like much else. Let us look into the future a few days, to when the Supreme Soviet examines the results of the discussion of the composition of the government in the commissions and committees and adopts the final decision and propositions on this score. As you know, the chairman of the Council of Ministers must deliver a report at the session on this question. I can already say that several people apparently will not be recommended by the committees and commissions for the corresponding posts. It is also possible for one committee or commission to be "for" while another is "against." What position should I adopt, as chairman of the Council of Ministers? On a candidacy against which there are convincing arguments from deputies, I will submit a proposal to leave the post in question vacant, and submit another candidacy for examination by the Supreme Soviet later. This does not, of course, mean that we will do all this in a day or two. We have a permanently operating Supreme Soviet, and there is no need to hurry over the choice. In the meantime the ministry's work will be headed by a deputy minister, who is not appointed by the Supreme Soviet.

But I do not rule out cases where it will be necessary to fight for a candidate who was rejected in the commission, although he has everything needed to head a given sector. After all, emotional or other transient factors can sometimes play a negative part. Even given the existence of some objective reasons for withdrawal, it cannot be ruled out, when you know a person's character, that he could mend his ways in the future and work better. In any event, if I come out in favor of the discussion in the Supreme Soviet of a candidacy that was rejected in the commissions, it will only be because I have every confidence that the person is right for the post in question.

What will be the fate of people whom the Supreme Soviet does not appoint? I think they will have the opportunity to do good work in other posts.

[Correspondent] Fundamentally new relations are taking shape between the parliament and the USSR Council of Ministers. How would you describe them, bearing in mind the growing role and responsibility of people's deputies?

[Ryzhkov] There have only been 3 days for the Council of Ministers, as the supreme executive and managerial [rasporyaditelnyy] organ, and the Supreme Soviet, as the legislative, managerial, and control organ of USSR state power, to have a look at each other.

Of course, the details of their relationship are still to be worked out. Currently we have by no means said everything even on paper about what kind of relationship this should be. But, given time, a system will be organized. The rights of the supreme organs of power are defined by the USSR Constitution. There is no question about that. The way in which the working relations between them—including Supreme Soviet commissions and committees—take shape is another matter. It is a question of great importance. I think it would be a mistake to take the view that someone should be in command of someone else. That approach would only whip up ambitions; it would not serve the cause. We must work together,

constantly remembering the enormous tasks facing the country. We will only achieve success if we work out joint decisions in comradely discussions.

The commissions and committees currently set up within the Supreme Soviet will make important decisions. For instance, the examination of the draft plan for 1990, which will be prepared by the USSR Gosplan and examined by the Council of Ministers, will begin. It will define our position and our approach to how to manage the national economy, bearing in mind the real conditions and the tasks facing the country.

And whereas previously the Supreme Soviet examined the draft in a largely formal manner, it will now be dealing with its substance. The draft will go to the plan and budget commission. This commission will obviously distribute it to other commissions, and serious discussion will begin. One should hardly expect complete unanimity. We will all have to get around the table, work out common approaches, and find compromises. I am sure that this cooperation will be of great benefit and will bring us closer to the truth and the ideal version. Of course, the easiest thing to do is to demand more without bothering about where the money will come from and who will have to stump up. But when you are responsible for both sides you manage to avoid extremes and overcome parochial and departmental interests.

It seems to me that even in the last 3 days, which we spent in commissions, a great deal has changed. Today the desire to find a way of organizing joint work better is coming to the fore. Constructive thinking is beginning. Introducing one of our comrades today, I said that we will have to look at all questions together, resolve them together, and put the imprint of the Supreme Soviet on these decisions. This is no longer a formal responsibility. Whereas today everyone criticizes the government because we are the ultimate managerial authority, tomorrow you will be making decisions together with the government and you, too, may be criticized. Criticized, for instance, for distributing money wrongly or misdirecting it. One committee will defend its own interests, another will defend its interests, but ultimately the decision will have to be made by the plan and budget commission. When I told deputies that they will be criticized, they smiled and answered: We're already being criticized. In my view, this is positive.

A great many things have changed abruptly in the last few days. Above all, deputies have acutely felt how serious the problems facing the country are. The programs knowledgeably put forward by candidate government members and the interesting and detailed discussion with the auditorium have given representatives from various regions a chance to learn what is being done throughout our vast country.

For all their importance, electoral okrug concerns have begun to be related more organically to general state concerns. On this basis the responsibility of politicians and people's deputies is acquiring new quality and is being seen in a new and wider-ranging dimension. This is probably one important result of the work of the Supreme Soviet chamber commissions and committees in the last few days.

In turn, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers and all other government members, having been through the mill of frank and sometimes even tough discussions in USSR Supreme Soviet committees and commissions, have also become profoundly aware of many problems that exist in real life. This will undoubtedly promote an improvement in government activity and bring it closer to our society's needs and concerns.

Those candidate government members, the impartial discussion of whose weak points and shortcomings generated negative emotions, can be understood in a purely human way. But the main point lies elsewhere. Those who come through this parliamentary procedure successfully cannot, of course, fail to have a sense of satisfaction in winning a vote of confidence from people's deputies. An important new quality will thereby appear in the position of the future government member—reliance on the support of the people's representatives. And the formal act of appointment to a post thereby acquires fundamentally new importance as a democratic act that is part of the restructuring of our political system.

Congress Policy Guidelines Resolution Published

PM2406150689 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jun 89 First Edition pp 1-2

["Resolution of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies: On the Basic Guidelines for the Domestic and Foreign Policy of the USSR"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] The USSR Congress of People's Deputies, expressing the people's will, takes upon itself the full plenitude of the highest state power in the country.

The people have entrusted their future to the deputies, and there is no higher duty than to fulfill their instructions.

I.

Having heard and discussed the reports of M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, on the Basic Guidelines for the Domestic and Foreign Policy of the USSR, and of N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on the program for future government activity, the congress notes that the country is living through an exceptionally crucial time in its history, on which the fate of restructuring and the future of our multinational motherland depend.

The profound restructuring of all aspects of social life that has begun on the party's initiative is designed to lead the country out of the highly serious crisis in which it found itself in the early eighties, to do away resolutely

with everything that retards its development, to give socialism a modern face, and to open up for Soviet society new horizons of social progress.

The wave of renewal has stimulated and roused the whole people. A process of assimilating new forms of social life in politics, the economy, and culture is under way, although it is no easy process. The economic reform is taking its first steps. A reconstruction of the political system has begun. The foundations of a rule-of-law state are being laid. Profound changes are taking place in the public consciousness. A turbulent process of politicization of all strata of the population is developing.

Expressing the people's will, the congress calls for steady progress along the path of restructuring. At the same time the congress stresses that the restructuring process is taking place with difficulty and with contradictions, and the situation in the country remains complex and tense. The country has not yet emerged from the crisis. The renewal of social life comes into conflict with the tenacity of the old structures and methods of work and stereotyped ways of thinking. On the one hand, the resistance of conservative forces has to be overcome, and on the other, radical sentiments are declaring themselves and demands are made, without taking objective conditions into account, for all the problems to be resolved at a stroke.

Restructuring has aroused great hopes, but has not yet yielded the desired results, especially in the economic and social spheres. Some problems have even been aggravated, stepping up the social tensions in society. The positive changes that have taken shape in production are negated by the disordered state of the financial system, the lack of balance in the market, and the growth in shortages of many goods and services. Despite the efforts being made, the food and housing problems remain acute. The ecological situation is becoming more complex. All this has a negative effect on living conditions, especially for the low-paid strata of the population.

The national economy's turn toward satisfying people's needs is being carried out only slowly. There has been no substantial progress in improving the scientific and technical standard and the efficiency of production. The scattering of capital investments and the growth in the volume of uncompleted construction continue.

Serious defects are occurring in the implementation of the economic reform and the formation of the new economic mechanism because of the absence of a comprehensive approach, inconsistency, and irresolute actions. The administrative edict system, adapting to the conditions of restructuring, is continuing to fetter economic development. The cumbersome management apparatus blocks the introduction of economic accountability relations and other progressive forms of organization of economic life, and blocks the masses' initiative. Leveling in labor remuneration, dependence, parochialism and departmentalism, and group egotism have not been eradicated.

Serious problems are also arising along the path of political reform and the democratization of society. In the work of the soviets and their executive organs, new functions and methods of leadership are being assimilated only slowly, the growing level of social activeness among the masses is not taken into account, and the positive potential of unofficial movements of working people is underestimated. The practice of overadministration with regard to enterprises, collective farms [kolkhozes] and state farms [sovkhozes], and cooperatives and lease operators has not stopped.

The congress notes as extremely alarming the weakening of discipline and responsibility and the growth in infringements of the law and crime in the country. There are major shortcomings in the work of law enforcement organs in the struggle against organized crime and corruption.

In the atmosphere of democratization and glasnost, the problems of interethnic relations that had accumulated over the years have come to light in all their urgency. Dangerous seats of conflict have opened up, and are developing into major excesses. Many years of deformation and distortion of the Leninist nationalities policy and prolonged disregard for the legitimate interests of the country's nations and ethnic groups have had their effect. Major distortions have arisen in the socioeconomic development of a number of republics and regions, along with uncontrolled migration processes. Many unresolved problems have come to light in the development of national languages and cultures, especially those of small peoples.

The USSR Congress of People's Deputies notes that the Soviet people—the working class, peasantry, and intelligentsia, all social strata, and all nations and ethnic groups of our country—fully supported the policy of restructuring at the elections of people's deputies. At the same time the voters firmly demanded that the policy be pursued more resolutely and consistently.

The congress instructs the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers formed by it to formulate and implement exhaustive measures to consolidate and develop the positive changes that have begun, halt the growth of negative trends, resolve urgent problems in the shortest possible space of time, and lay firm foundations for the country's subsequent advance along the path of progress.

The USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers are to analyze thoroughly and summarize the concrete proposals put forward by deputies at the congress, take account of them in legislative practice and in the activity of the government, ministries, and departments, and keep the people's deputies informed of this.

II.

The highest purpose of the Soviet state's activity is the material prosperity, spiritual development, and moral health of society and every one of its members. The congress demands from state organs a decisive turn toward focusing attention on man, the further democratization and humanization of all spheres of social life, its spiritual renewal, and the consistent implementation of the principle of social justice.

To achieve a radical improvement in the people's living standard requires time, a substantial increase in production efficiency, and daily creative efforts by labor collectives, economic organs, and the whole of the public. But there are questions that demand speedy resolution.

The congress instructs the USSR Supreme Soviet and USSR Council of Ministers to adopt urgent measures in the near future to stabilize the situation on the consumer market and eliminate the shortage of essential goods and services. The congress considers it necessary without delay, no later than 1 January 1990, without waiting for the adoption of a new pension law:

—to increase the minimum level of the old-age pension for all citizens to the level of the minimum wage, eliminating the differences in pension provision for kolkhoz members, workers, and employees;

—to increase the minimum level of pensions for Group One and Group Two invalids and the widows and bereaved parents of servicemen, bringing them into line with benefits for participants in the Great Patriotic War;

—to grant the right to free medical supplies to participants in the Great Patriotic War and widows and bereaved parents of servicemen, and also to grant the right to the free use of urban transportation (excluding cabs) to participants in the war and to persons awarded orders and medals for selfless labor in the war years;

—to eliminate the discrepancies that exist in the maintenance of patients in medical institutions, as well as in departmental sanatoriums and leisure homes;

—to lift restrictions on the payment of pensions to pensioners working as workers and foremen, and also to all invalidity pensioners employed in the national economy, irrespective of the level of their wages.

Concrete proposals on these questions, including sources of financial provision, should be submitted by the USSR Council of Ministers for examination by the USSR Supreme Soviet within a 3-month period.

With a view to improving the whole range of social conditions for Soviet people's life and work, the congress instructs the USSR Supreme Soviet and USSR Council of Ministers, according to their competence, to implement the following measures:

—to accelerate the resolution of the food problem on the basis of the implementation of a modern agrarian policy incorporating a profound restructuring of socialist production relations, a radical improvement in living conditions in the countryside, and the strengthening of the material base of agro-industrial production;

—to ensure a rapid increase in the production of consumer goods and services of high quality, creating the appropriate economic structures to this end. To involve defense industry and heavy and construction industry enterprises in this work;

—substantially to expand housing construction, primarily cooperative and individual. To release the necessary capacities of construction organizations and material and financial resources for this purpose, by means of reducing production construction. To adopt measures to strengthen the construction industry's base, increase the production of cosntruction materials, and radically improve the architectural face of cities and rural settlements, the provision of amenities in the existing housing stock, and municipal services;

—to achieve a substantial improvement in the quality of health care and the supply of drugs to the population. To seek additional sources of funds and to ensure the rational assimilation of resources already appropriated for the expansion of the network of hospitals and clinics fitted with modern equipment, as well as enterprises to produce modern drugs and medical equipment; to give the production of medical equipment the status of priority consumer goods, and to develop mass physical culture and sport in every way as an effective means of boosting health and reducing morbidity;

—to examine the question of the possibility of increasing the minimum annual leave to 24 working days and child-care leave to the age of 3;

—to improve the social, economic, and other conditions for involving young people in independent labor and sociopolitical life; to formulate and implement the necessary measures to provide financial, legal, and organizational backing for the state youth policy. To formulate and submit for discussion in the USSR Supreme Soviet a question on the state of youth;

—to accelerate the resolution of numerous urgent problems encountered by women. To draw up a state program for improving the position of women in the USSR, including questions of the family, maternity and childhood, the protection of women's work and health, and the alleviation of housework and daily life;

—to step up attention toward war and labor veterans and participants in the war in Afghanistan, and to resolve their pressing problems as a matter of priority;

—to promote to the maximum extent the physical, labor, and social rehabilitation of invalids, their education and professional training, and their involvement in working life, while preserving their existing benefits;

—to approve the initiative of republics and labor collectives providing additional benefits for women, war and labor veterans, and invalids out of their own sources and funds;

—to complete in 1990 the formulation of a statewide ecology program, incorporating both priority and long-term measures to clean up the natural environment. To devote particular attention to ecological disaster zones. To ensure the thorough examination of plans and monitoring of the construction of canals, chemical enterprises, and nuclear power stations from the viewpoint of ecological safety and taking into account economic requirements. To step up state monitoring of the utilization of natural resources and ensure glasnost in information on the quality of the environment.

The congress expresses serious concern in connection with the scale of drunkenness, which is not declining, the ineffectiveness of antialcohol measures, and the spread of home distilling and drug addiction, and demands a resolute struggle against these phenomena.

One of the most important avenues of the activity of all organs of state power and administration and social organizations must be the consistent implementation of the principle of social justice and the complete overcoming of wage leveling and padding. The congress considers wages growth justified only where wages are in line with the results and quality of labor, subject to progressive income tax.

The congress instructs the USSR Council of Ministers, by the end of 1989, to:

—work out questions relating to the introduction of a new system of pension provision incorporating both a mechanism for adjusting pensions at the end of each year, taking account of the cost of living index, and also proposals submitted by USSR people's deputies for improving pension provision for individual categories of the population;

—elaborate a system of compensation measures (supplementary payments, subsidies on the acquisition of medicines and the purchase of children's clothing, and so forth) for people whose income per family member is lower than the subsistence minimum and organize, as of 1990, annual computations of the subsistence minimum per family member;

—submit to the USSR Supreme Soviet an analysis of the present system of benefits and privileges in all forms, and ensure maximum openness in resolving any question linked with benefits and privileges.

The congress considers the comprehensive development of political, spiritual, and labor standards embodied in scientific knowledge, artistic values, folk traditions, and norms of daily conduct to be am important condition for the renewal, humanization, and moral elevation of Soviet society. Without a decisive upsurge in standards or the expansion of glasnost, stable successes cannot be achieved in the democratization of society and the mobilization of human talents, abilities, and gifts.

The USSR Congress of People's Deputies states its commitment to a cultural policy and practice ensuring freedom of artistic creativity and unlimited access by working people to cultural achievements which enrich people's spiritual world.

The congress considers it essential to consistently implement Leninist principles in attitudes to culture and the creative intelligentsia, principles which rule out any manifestations of bureaucratic administration and make the norm a solicitous attitude to the legacy of the past, its best traditions, and state symbols and things sacred to nationalities. With a view to developing culture and spiritually enriching society, the USSR Supreme Soviet and USSR Council of Ministers are instructed to formulate a long-term program in which provision will be made for preserving and augmenting society's spiritual potential, introducing increasingly broad strata of the population to cultural values, renewing and creating a modern system of education and instruction, strengthening the material base of culture, science, education, and publishing, and immediately raising the living standard of low-paid workers in this sphere. Funds for sociocultural purposes are to be allocated on a priority basis.

The qualitative renewal of the entire system of education and instruction—the main source for augmenting society's intellectual potential—is assuming priority significance under present-day conditions. The congress resolutely urges the creation of a modern education system; the strengthening of its material base, including the provision of computer equipment; and the enhancement of the social status of public education teachers and all workers in the education system. In addition to implementing statewide measures it is necessary to more actively involve republic and local bodies, labor collectives, social movements, and charitable foundations in resolving these tasks.

III.

The congress attaches priority significance to the implementation of radical transformations in the economic sphere, regarding them as the foundation of restructuring and a decisive factor for for achieving its objectives. Without fundamental changes in the economy, property relationships, and the economic mechanism it is impossible to fulfill the social program advanced by the congress.

The congress on the whole approves the proposals put forward in the reports by M.S. Gorbachev and N.I. Ryzhkov for restoring the national economy to health,

sharply reducing the budget deficit, regularizing the money supply, and filling the market with consumer goods and services, and demands that additional measures to stabilize the country's economic situation be adopted, taking into account the proposals expressed by people's deputies. The corresponding proposals are to be examined and considered by the Soviet of the Union Planning, Budget, and Financial Commission and other commissions of the chambers and committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet when the progress of the fulfillment of the 1989 targets and the draft plan and budget for 1990 are being discussed. After detailed, comprehensive, and public discussion by the committees and commissions, all questions linked with the establishment of budget income and expenditure must be taken up by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

In resolving strategic economic development tasks particular attention should be paid to the radical retooling of production on the basis of the latest Soviet and world scientific achievements and the introduction of advanced technology, primarily electronics, information science, and biotechnology. The congress stresses the need to develop both basic and applied research on a broad scale in all fields of scientific knowledge in the quest for breakthroughs in the most promising areas of scientific exploration, ensuring the improvement of social relations and qualitative changes in equipment and technology.

There will have to be a radical renewal of the structure of public education, a radical change in investment policy, a sharp reduction in the number of projects under construction at any one time, and a reduction in the volume of incomplete construction to the normative level by the beginning of the 13th 5-Year Plan. There must be a substantial reduction in capital investments in production needs. The corresponding commissions and committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet should analyze the situation and determine the advisability of large-scale projects which are under construction or in the planning stage.

The government is instructed to make changes to the USSR Energy Program and carry out widespread discussion of it.

Additional resources are to be sought to develop the economy and resolve social tasks by reducing military expenditure to the level of reasonable sufficiency, increase the effectiveness of space research, and make wide use of the achievements of space technology in the national economy. The USSR Council of Ministers is to elaborate a defense industry conversion program by the end of 1989. The capacities and material resources thus released are to be used to produce consumer goods and equipment for light industry, the agro-industrial complex, trade, public catering, and health care. Some of the funds released in connection with the reduction of the Armed Forces are to be used to improve the material and everyday living conditions of servicemen and members of their families.

The congress expresses serious concern in connection with the enormous losses in the national economy and the numerous instances of violation of labor and production discipline and labor safety regulations, and blatant mismanagement and irresponsibility. It demands that the USSR Government and soviet and economic organs take resolute measures to put a stop to such phenomena, and urges the Congress of People's Deputies, social organizations and movements, and labor collectives to develop a nationwide struggle against losses and mismanagement and for the strengthening of labor and executive discipline.

The congress considers it necessary to devote particular attention to the development of agriculture and all sectors of the agro-industrial complex. The USSR Supreme Soviet is to substantially update legislation on land and land use. It is necessary to begin more boldly to hand over the land for lease, including indefinite lease, to those who cultivate it. The resolution of questions connected with land leasing is to be entrusted to local soviets, with their powers being expanded by legislation. Diverse forms of economic management are to be developed in conjunction with the kolkhozes and sovkhozes—agro-industrial firms, cooperatives, lease collectives, and peasant farms—and the conditions are to be created for equal competition among them. Equivalent relations are to be ensured between agriculture and industry, agriculture is to be supplied with material and technical resources on a priority basis, and the production of agricultural machines is to be restructured in the light of changes in the structure of agriculture. The social base of the agrarian sector is to be strengthened. Any attempts to exercise command over agricultural enterprises are to be resolutely nipped in the bud.

The appeal of the group of agriculturalist people's deputies to the congress is to be supported, and the USSR Government is to embark without delay on resolving the radical problems of development of the countryside that it raises.

The USSR Council of Ministers is to conduct an experiment in stimulating additional deliveries of high quality output by farms by paying for this output in currency saved as a result of reducing imports of grain and food.

The USSR Supreme Soviet, its committees and the commissions of the chambers, and the USSR Council of Ministers are to embark on the formulation of the concept and basic guidelines for the 5-year plan for the economic and social development of the USSR for 1991-1995 and for the period through 2005. In the process of this work particular attention is to be devoted to the social reorientation of economic growth, the attainment of full balance in the 5-year plan, the expansion of the autonomy of republics and local soviets, questions of resource-saving, and the creation of the conditions for full and efficient employment of the

population. The use of gross volume indicators in planning and in assessing the results of the economic activity of enterprises and territories is to be abandoned.

The congress considers it necessary steadily to put into practice the radical economic reform, and to implement interconnected steps to change planning methods, financial levers, prices, taxes, and labor remuneration conditions, and to introduce territorial economic accountability. In the light of accumulated experience and past mistakes, it is necessary radically to improve the management of the actual process of implementation of the reform, and to prevent deviations from its principles. It is deemed necessary to form a State Commission for Economic Reform in the government.

With a view to further deepening the economic reform, the congress instructs the USSR Supreme Soviet and USSR Council of Ministers:

—to ensure the development of diverse forms of social ownership that exclude exploitation or alienation of the worker from the means of production. To create equal conditions for the development and free competition of the following forms of ownership: statewide, local (communal), cooperative, that based on the lease and share principles (the joint-stock form), that based on individual labor activity, and also various mixed forms; to adopt measures to eliminate negative phenomena in the development of the cooperative movement;

—to implement in the next few years a phased transition to wholesale trade in the means of production and to create the conditions for the formation of a socialist market, including a market in securities and investment resources. To adopt the necessary measures for the wide development of economic competition and the struggle against monopoly phenomena;

—to define ways of resolving the problem of loss-making and low-profit enterprises, in particular by handing them over for leasing, transferring them to the cooperative ownership of labor collectives, or in a number of cases closing them down;

—to implement a radical restructuring of the financial system and go over to a system of payments for resources and progressive taxation of profit (income). To strengthen the role and increase the autonomy of the USSR State Bank. To promote the creation of cooperative and commercial banks, including republican and regional banks;

—to formulate and consistently implement a program for reducing exports of fuel, energy, and raw material resources, and changing the structure of imports on the basis of increasing the efficiency of foreign economic activity and carrying out a phased switch to convertibility of the ruble.

The congress supports the course of all-around development of the initiative and autonomy of production enterprises (associations) as the starting point for economic reform. It is necessary to ensure their consistent, steady transfer to full economic accountability and the opportunity to use various models of economic accountability, and to stimulate the development of the contract system, the lease system, and joint-stock fellowships.

The voluntary creation of socialist concerns, intersector associations, unions, and other societies should be promoted in every way. The development of these forms will make it possible to radically change the functions of ministries and steadily reduce their numbers.

In an economic system based not on administrative instructions and decrees, but on economic methods of management regulated by the law, the role of the center should consist in the creation of the economic and legal conditions for efficient economic activity at every level, the development of the unionwide infrastructure, the implementation of a statewide scientific, technical, financial, and taxation policy, and the social protection of citizens.

The authenticity and fullness of statistical information and its reliability is to be ensured, and the same applies to all other information coming from official sources. The publication of objective data on the level and rate of inflation is to be organized. The comparability of statistical indicators of the country's economic development with corresponding indicators that are accepted in international practice is to be ensured.

IV.

The congress reaffirms: In the USSR all state power belongs to the people and is exercised by them through the soviets of people's deputies.

The congress supports the line formulated by the 19th all-union party conference on the clear demarcation of functions between party and state organs at all levels, the formation of a socialist rule-of-law state, and the consistent implementation of the principle whereby all social organizations, including the CPSU, operate within the framework of the USSR Constitution and Soviet laws.

The congress comes out unanimously in favor of beginning without delay work on preparing a new Constitution—the Fundamental Law of the USSR—forming a Constitutional Commission for that purpose. The new Constitution should embody the principles of humane, democratic socialism and lay down the socioeconomic and political foundations of the formation of the Soviet state, its Leninist federal structure, the treaty-based and constitutional nature of relations between the USSR and the union republics, and the development of all forms of autonomy, the high status of the soviets, the inalienable rights of man, and the security and legal protection of the individual. The new Constitution should embody a

socioeconomic and state structure that would make it impossible for a personality cult or authoritarianism to spring up, or for administrative edict methods of managing society to persist.

The USSR Supreme Soviet is instructed to prepare, for the next Congress of People's Deputies, the necessary amendments to the existing USSR Constitution in the light of the proposals put forward by deputeis at the congress.

The congress declares its determination to assert the supremacy of the law in all spheres of state and social life and the quality of all citizens, officials, and organizations before the law, without exception. All citizens are responsible before the law for their actions. But the state, in the person of its organs and officials, should also be responsible for its actions and decisions before every citizen and the whole Soviet people. This principle should be consistently asserted in the sociopolitical and economic activity of citizens, social organizations, cooperatives, and enterprises: "Everything is permitted, except what is prohibited by law."

The main aspects of the activity of state organs and officials should be strictly regulated by the law. Unlawful individual or collegial actions by any officials that infringe citizens' rights may be the subject of an appeal to the court. The law is the basis of a rule-of-law state, the defender of citizens' freedom and equality and of order and organization in society, and the guarantor of the principle of social justice.

The congress proceeds on the basis of recognizing as immutable and sacred the inalienable human rights to life, freedom, the inviolability and security of the person and the home, and the right of peoples to self-determination. Any infringement of human rights and the rights of peoples is impermissible. The Soviet legislative system, the court, and all law enforcement organs are called upon consistently and strictly to implement and defend these rights.

Acting on the basis of international norms and principles, including those contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Helsinki agreements, and the accords at the Vienna meeting, and bringing its domestic legislation into line with them, the USSR will promote the creation of a world community of rule-of-law states.

The congress notes that in accordance with the existing USSR Constitution it is empowered to take under consideration and resolve any question that falls within the jurisdiction of the USSR. At the same time the congress believes that the main bulk of legislative acts should be drafted, discussed, and adopted by the permanently operating USSR Supreme Soviet with the active participation of its committees and the commissions of the chambers, in accordance with a carefully formulated democratic procedure making provision for glasnost and openness in discussion and the presentation of alternative versions of decisions and proposals.

The congress instructs the USSR Supreme Soviet to formulate by the next congress a proposal on the procedure for annual renewal of the composition of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The congress instructs the USSR Supreme Soviet to prepare by the beginning of 1990 legislative acts in which the principle of full power of the soviets in the economic, social, and political spheres of life, as well as measures to overcome departmentalism and parochialism, are expressed in consistent and concrete form. The reconstruction of the soviets of people's deputies at all levels, the democratization of their methods of activity, the all-around widening of their rights and powers, and the unconditional subordination of the executive apparatus to them are necessary conditions for the return of the real levers of power to the soviets. The governments of the USSR and the union and autonomous republics must be entirely subordinate to the supreme organs of power—the congresses and supreme soviets—and responsible to them. Leadership of all local affairs should take place on the basis of the principles of self-management, with maximum development of citizens' initiative and the stepping up of the role of social organizations and democratic movements. The successful resolution of these tasks should be furthered by the forthcoming elections to republican and local organs of power, whose powers expire in February 1990.

It is necessary to strengthen the constitutional guarantees of the constructive development of the democratic process in the country, to consistently democratize the eklectoral system, and to take experience of past elections of USSR people's deputies more fully into account when elaborating republic electoral laws.

An equally urgent task in the legislative field is the provision of legal backup for economic reform. The congress instructs the USSR Supreme Soviet to elaborate a unified law on the socialist enterprise and also to expedite the preparation of laws on leasing and leasing relationships, a unified tax system, republic economic accountability, and self-management and the local economy. The USSR Supreme Soviet and Committee for Economic Reform Questions is to be instructed to examine with the appropriate chamber commissions republics' proposals on questions of expanding their economic independence and the Lithuanian and Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviets' proposals on these republics' transition to economic accountability in 1990, submitted under the legislative initiative procedure.

In the very near future there must be legislative regulation of the activity of the mass media and social organizations, amalgamations, and associations. A law on freedom of conscience and religious organizations must be formulated and adopted.

The congress considers it necessary to resolutely strengthen law and order in the country. Democratic development can be undermined both by administrative tyranny and restrictions on the people's freedom to express their will, and also by the substitution of violence and tyranny by extremists for such freedom of expression.

The congress revokes Article 11-1 and considers it necessary to hone the wording of Article 7 of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree of 8 April 1989, and also to instruct the USSR Supreme Soviet to exzamine the question of the conformity with the USSR Constitution of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees on the procedure for organizing and conducting rallies and demonstrations and the obligations and rights of USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] internal troops.

The congress demands the consistent continuation and intensification of the struggle against corruption, organized crime, embezzlement, and graft, which involves the eradication of these shameful phenomena at every level and the elimination of their causes. The USSR Council of Ministers is to elaborate a unionwide program to combat crime and submit it to the USSR Supreme Soviet. The state has an obligation to safeguard citizens against encroachments on their life, health, honor, and property, and to take all necessary measures to increase and strengthen the material and technical facilities available to the courts and prosecution, investigation, and militia agenies and improve the conditions of their workers' lives.

A most important element of the proposed judicial and legal reform must be to resolutely strengthen the independence of the courts, increase the effectiveness of the investigation process, and remove it from the sphere of any departmental influence whatsover. No criminal must escape the punishment he deserves, but no innocent person must be condemned. Only full protection of citizens' legal rights at all stages of the criminal process, including access by a defense attorney from the very beginning of an investigation, can resolve this task. An objective investigation, a strong defense, and an independent court make up the triune formula of socialist justice. The congress instructs the USSR Supreme Soviet to ensure the implementation of the judicial reform by the middle of next year in order to create a really independent and authoritative judicial system, which will involve the possibility of utilizing such a democratic form of court procedure as juries. The union republics' judicial systems must be structured with consideration for their political, legal, and cultural traditions while complying with all the principles of democratic justice.

V.

The congress draws particular attention to the nationalities question, the present state of interethnic relations, the urgent need for a fundamental renewal of nationalities policy, and the creation of a political mechanism capable of ensuring a reasonable and just approach to questions of interethnic relations. The federal structure of our multinational state must have real political and economic substance. We have an obligation to restore interethnic relations to full health and free them from everything that contradicts our morality and ideology and the humane principles of socialism.

The competence of the USSR, the sovereign rights of the republics, and the rights of autonomous entities need a modern precise juridical definition. The principle of national self-determination advanced by Lenin as the cornerstone of the voluntary unification of the republics in the USSR must be restored to its authentic significance, and provided with the requisite democratic legal guarantees.

The congress states: In creating the legal mechanism for protecting republics' sovereign rights which is essential in a rule-of-law state it is necessary to proceed from present-day realities. The economy, demography, and social and ethnic structure of all the republics have changed, national self-awareness has grown, and new requiremnents have emerged in spiritual life. All this requires the strengthening of political guarantees designed to ensure a reasonable and just approach to questions of interethnic relations, the free and comprehensive development of all the Soviet nations and ethnic groups within the framework of the federal union state, a full life for national languages, and the blossoming of culture.

The congress demands of central and local organs of power that they find mutually acceptable solutions to the nationalities problems, which are yet another heavy legacy bequeathed to us from the times of tyranny and lawlessness. To this day justice has not been restored for a number of nations and ethnic groups. While acknowledging the complexity of the situation and the specific characteristics of the situation in individual republics and regions, the Congress of Peoples' Deputies cannot fail to express a firm standpoint here: In line with the new nationalities policy being formulated in accordance with this resolution, a solution must be found by democratic means as quickly as possible. The congress instructs the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities to get together with the supreme soviets of the relevant republics and study and submit proposals on questions raised at the congress relating to the restoration of the rights of the Volga Germans, Crimean Tatars, and Meskhetian Turks, and the development of small ethnic groups. The Commission for Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations of the Soviet of the Union is to examine the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and report the results to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The congress regards as essential:

—in the political sphere: the unswerving observance and substantial expansion of the rights of union and autonomous republics and other national entities, and the intensification of republic and local organs' independence and responsibility. All this must be regarded as

the first step. We must advance consistently toward the implementation of the principle that union republics independently exercise state power on their territory, handling all questions not under the jurisdiction of the USSR. The constitutional provision that the competence of the Union includes the establishment of fundamentals and general principles of legislation, whereas the adoption of laws with direct force is the republics' prerogative, must be observed as one of the axiomatic principles of the functioning of the federal state. The constitutional reform of the Union is intended to resolve the most acute nationalities questions in such a way as to create the legal basis of a self-managing democratic society where each nation is guaranteed the development most in line with its historical, cultural, and other characteristics;

—in the economic sphere: the improvement of relations between the Union and the republics on the basis of the organic combination of their economic autonomy and active participation in the unionwide division of labor. It is necessary in this way to restructure the regulation of the country's integrated national economic complex, organically incorporating the transfer of republics, regions, krays, and oblasts to self-management and self-financing in the general process of renewal of our economy. All nations and ethnic groups should have the opportunity fully to express and realize their sovereign economic, social, and other interests, and to coordinate them reciprocally, on an equal footing, with a view to the harmonious development of the national economy of the regions and the country as a whole;

—in the spiritual sphere: the recognition of the very great social and historical value of the full diversity of national cultures. These are not only our country's property, they are a unique and irreplaceable part of mankind's spiritual assets, and the congress emphasizes the need for an equally solicitous attitude toward the cultures of all the Soviet peoples, both big and small, and the development and enrichment of national languages.

The congress points to the need to create legal forms of resolving the clashes that may and do arise in interethnic relations. In view of the complexity of such clashes, which touch on people's most delicate feelings, the congress appeals to representatives of all nations and ethnic groups for mutual understanding and goodwill, restraint, and tolerance. We should all work together to protect and respect each other's rights and interests, so as to exclude forever the use of violence in resolving nationality problems and ensure the democratic development of the entire multinational Soviet people.

VI.

The Congress of People's Deputies approves and assesses highly the international activity of the Soviet state in the years of restructuring.

The renunciation of dogmatic ideas, realism in the approach to various phenomena and processes of international life, the restoration to common human values of their lost significance, the deideologization of interstate relations, the organic reunification of a policy aimed at protecting the country's interests with morality—all these are distinctive features of the new thinking, in accordance with which a radical change has taken place in the USSR's foreign policy course. Today this course is firmly based on the historic conclusions of the 27th CPSU Congress on the mortally dangerous nature of the nuclear arms race for mankind's survival, the integral nature and growing interdependence of the modern world, and the inalienable right of peoples to a free sociopolitical choice.

The congress notes that in the years of restructuring, as a result of the implementation of the principles of the new political thinking, international tension has decreased considerably, and a reduction has begun in nuclear arsenals and the numerical strength of Soviet forces in the allied countries. The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan was a very important foreign policy step in recent years. The congress appeals to parliaments and the international public to promote in every way the return of the Soviet soldiers and officers who did not return from the Afghan war and are languishing in a foreign land.

At the same time the congress notes that guarantees of the irreversibility of the positive changes that have begun in the sphere of disarmament and the strengthening of confidence-building measures have not yet become established. Under these conditions, ensuring the reliable defense of the country is one of the most important functions of our state. The congress advocates the further qualitative development of the Soviet Army in accordance with the existing principles of its formation. It is necessary to continue to show concern for the Soviet Army, which is educated in the spirit of patriotism, has close links with all the Soviet people, and is devoted to their interests.

The congress welcomes the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations as an event of worldwide significance. It advocates the further development of equal and mutually beneficial cooperation with all socialist countries. It instructs the USSR Government to seek to further improve Soviet-American relations, which are of key significance in the cause of ending the arms race and strengthening universal peace; to ensure still more active Soviet participation in the building of the "common European home" and in the continuation of the Vladivostok line in the Asian and Pacific region, devoting particular attention to friendly relations with India; to develop fruitful contacts with Latin America and Africa; and to strengthen good-neighborly relations with all contiguous states.

The congress considers that the Soviet Union's foreign policy course born out of restructuring must continue to develop on the basis of the following principles:

—the country's security should be ensured first and foremost by political means, as an integral part of general and equal security, in the process of demilitarization, democratization, and humanization of international relations, and with reliance on the authority and potential of the United Nations;

—nuclear weapons should be eliminated in the course of a negotiation process oriented toward disarmament and the reduction of the defense potential of the state within the limits of reasonable sufficiency;

—the use of force and the threat of force with a view to achieving any political, economic, or other objectives are impermissible; in relations with other countries respect for sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity are essential;

—not confrontation, but dialogue and talks based on the balance of interests should be adopted as the sole means of resolving international problems and settling conflicts;

—the integration of the Soviet economy into the world economy presupposes our active participation in the modern international division of labor, scientific and technical exchange, world trade, and cooperation with all who so wish.

The congress draws particular attention to the need to create reliable guarantees capable of totally ruling out in future the undemocratic adoption, without glasnost, of foreign policy decisions that are of vital significance for the country and its peoples. In future all such decisions should be adopted only after their discussion in the USSR Supreme Soviet, its committees, and the commissions of the chambers, and the most important decisions, for instance those concerning allied relations or the conclusion of very important treaties, should be submitted for examination by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. The congress instructs the USSR Supreme Soviet to formulate a political assessment of the decision taken in the past to send Soviet troops into Afghanistan, and to report on that assessment at the second USSR Congress of People's Deputies. The formulation and implementation of the Soviet state's foreign policy should be under the people's control.

The congress declares before the whole world: The USSR's foreign policy course, based on the new thinking, is of a fundamental and permanent nature. It is not a tactical step, not a zigzag, not a concession to anyone, but a profoundly substantiated strategic line expressing the interests of the Soviet people and in accordance with the interests of all mankind. The congress again reaffirms the nationwide support for this course and comes out resolutely in favor of its continued active implementation.

The congress addresses all citizens of the country:

Compatriots! Before your eyes and with your participation we, the people's deputies, have discussed the problems of Soviet society's development. We perceived how serious these problems are and what efforts they will require of us all. We also perceived how great our common determination is to overcome the difficulties and enable the motherland to scale the heights of contemporary socioeconomic development. No one will do this for us. It is our country, our land, our socialist fatherland.

Our interests may be different, our opinions may not always coincide. But we agree that only revolutionary restructuring can lead to a renewed, humane, democratic socialism oriented in all its manifestations toward man. Such a society will draw its strength from the autonomy and creativity of the masses, and will offer them full scope.

We are on the right path. We understand the full importance of the consolidating role of the CPSU as the ruling party and the political vanguard of society. It began restructuring, and is its guarantor. It alone, renewing and improving itself, can head the movement toward the implementation of the people's aspirations.

The first USSR Congress of People's Deputies calls on you: Let us strengthen our will, redouble our efforts, and advance restructuring more vigorously, so that we can live better and become better!

Deputy Chairman Lukyanov Interviewed on Congress

PM2506184089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jun 89 Morning Edition pp 2-3

[Interview with A.I. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, by IZVESTIYA correspondents N. Bodnaruk, V. Zakharko: "The Congress, Society, the Power of the Soviets"; date, place of interview not specified]

[Text] [Correspondents] You have been working for many years, Anatoliy Ivanovich, at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which is the publisher of our newspaper, but it has emerged that you have never once appeared in IZVESTIYA. Today, after that stormy congress, which elected you first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, neither you nor we can avoid a public discussion. And the first question is, of course, about the congress. To what extent and in what respect were your personal expectations of the congress justified—as a politician and a man? What were the things—pleasant and unpleasant—that struck you?

[Lukyanov] I agree with you—we need to talk. All of us will have occasion to come back many more times—in public appearances and in purely private conversations—to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, which was a turning point in the history of our country.

From the outset it was conceived—this arose back at the 19th all-union party conference—as a continuation of Lenin's Congresses of Soviets, taking account, of course, of the realities of modern life. And now it can be said confidently that these expectations were realized. Just as in Lenin's day, it was a broad forum reflecting the sentiments of all strata of our society and acting as a kind of mold, a collective portrait of it, with all the nuances and extremes of positions, with the full range of political, economic, social, national, and other interests. At the new stage in the Soviet state's development, the congress went far beyond the bounds of a purely parliamentary assembly, and was a true convention of the whole people [vsenarodnyy kongress].

The congress did not merely strengthen society's faith in the irreversibility of restructuring. It stressed unequivocally that there is no alternative to restructuring, that there is no way back. I think the 2 weeks of the congress changed us all. The weight of soviet power has changed, its voice in the country has changed, has become the voice of real power, and nothing could be weightier than that result.

What struck me? There were all kinds of things at the congress. Only one thing was lacking: the habitual victory fanfares. That is encouraging. It is an indication that we are moving in the right direction. That is the first thing. Second: The congress revealed the very rich human potential that has developed in our society. It brought to light many new people, people who are really principled, who think in a statesmanlike way, and who in human terms are simply interesting, whom restructuring has brought into the political arena. It uncovered new facets and qualities in people who were already well known—scientists, workers, specialists. The congress showed clearly—and this is the third significant point—the sincere commitment and ardent desire of the people's deputies to accelerate our progress, their optimism, and their desire to advance the cause despite the great bulk of unresolved issues. This creative, working charge must, of course, be cherished and augmented.

Unfortunately, we did not escape without flaws that struck me, so to speak, on the minus side. At times the rally principle, carried over to the congress from the election battles, and the excessively explosive tone of the debates hampered the development of constructive dialogue and profound analysis of particular aspects of our life. I could not but be struck by the fact that certain party workers preferred to speak about any problems at all from the platform, but for some reason not to defend their party, which was subjected not only to justified criticism, but sometimes to unjustified attacks, too. Those deputies who tried stubbornly to impose their own viewpoint as the only correct one did not inspire sympathy. And, of course, the congress was not embellished by the lack of political ethics, the absence of the ability to combine a democratic debate with good organization.

[Correspondents] Judging by the reaction of IZVESTIYA readers, a certain section of the population feels disappointed with the results of the congress. What do you think, what is the problem here?

[Lukyanov] There is a great diversity of opinion in assessing the congress results. That is an entirely natural phenomenon. At the same time—and I have already spoken about this at a Supreme Soviet session and at the congress itself—understated assessments of the congress are not in accordance with the truth. The truth is first and foremost that the congress reaffirmed and deepened the political line of Soviet society's development, and defined clearly the outlines of domestic and foreign policy. In accordance with the Constitution, it formed the organs of power and made the cadre appointments that fall within its competence. It resolved the most important organizational question—it elected the USSR Supreme Soviet. A concluding document was adopted, and was published on 25 June, not only containing a profound analysis of the situation in our society, but also defining the avenues of our practical work. Thus the congress laid the foundations for the functioning of a new system in the highest organs of power. The only people who fail to see all this are those who will not see the obvious. I have no doubt that the more time separates us from the congress, the more firmly its fundamental significance will be recognized.

Another point in connection with the talk of "disappointment." You know, for all the diversity of the assessments of the congress results, there is one point that, as I see it, unites our entire society. I am talking about the change in the people's self-awareness. From the widespread "I have no time for politics," before our very eyes there was a turn toward a passionate interest in state affairs. And that is nothing less than the direct involvement of many millions of people in political life. This social phenomenon is one of the most important results of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. And this alone would enable us to say: The congress fulfilled its mission.

[Correspondents] Is the congress capable in general—it is, as we have seen, a gathering of 2,250 very different people—is it capable in principle of resolving concrete questions? And what must be done to prevent the next congress from turning into a rally?

[Lukyanov] I wish to stress yet again: This is not the purpose of the congress, as a broad people's convention. World practice, in any case, has long since concluded that, for instance, the formulation of laws and decisions, and the drafting of various formulas, is the prerogative of elected bodies that are smaller in number and oriented more toward concrete legislative activity. Under Lenin, in the days of Lenin's Congresses of Soviets, these bodies were, as you know, the All-Russian Central Executive

Committee and the USSR Central Executive Committee. Under present-day conditions, the USSR Supreme Soviet elected by the Congress of People's Deputies should be such a body.

Does this fact diminish the status and significance of the congress itself? No way! The congress is responsible for the formulation and definition of the main avenues of the development of society and the state. The congress is responsible for examining any questions of the country's life, changing the Constitution, and adopting the most important laws. The congress is responsible for the utmost exactingness toward officials, whom it confirms itself. The combination of the congress and the Supreme Soviet represents the full plenitude of state power in our country.

Of course, various measures could be adopted to ensure that the next congress does not, as you suggest, turn into a rally. But should you regulate everything in the democratic process? The trenchancy of debates, the breaking of protocol, the unpredictability distinguished this congress from everything we had previously known or seen. And as for the standing orders and the waiting lines for the platform and the presidium desk, I do not think the deputies themselves will allow that to happen next time.

[Correspondents] Did your personal opinion on the questions discussed always coincide with the opinion of the majority? Where there instances where the majority prevented you, as chairman at the sitting, from pursuing the line that you had chosen and that you considered correct?

[Lukyanov] It is not a question of the "majority" or the "minority." If I voted "for," that was in accordance with my position. If I voted "against," it meant I was not "for."

I thought and I still think that the chairman's role is mainly to give the largest possible number of deputies with different views and opinions the opportunity to express themselves. The congress presidium decided from the outset to give the opportunity for broad discussion and not "compress" the course of the debate. Members of the presidium and I myself sometimes disagreed with the "majority" and with the "minority" in the voting, but that comes into the sphere of social psychology and objective and subjective factors.

I believe that in future, too, the congress presidium and those who conduct Supreme Soviet sittings should give the opportunity for all who wish to speak to do so. It is up to us to observe this intention and adhere to the standing orders.

[Correspondents] There are many arguments about the problem of the majority and the minority. Indeed, what is to be done if those who are in the minority on a particular issue are closer to the truth? How, on the one hand, can you satisfy the interests of that group of deputies and their voters, and on the other hand ensure the adoption of progressive decisions, even if the majority are against?

[Lukyanov] Let us now go beyond the bounds of the congress. The party has set forth its position on this question in a number of documents. The CPSU adheres to the principles of democratic centralism, and I as a Communist share this position.

This principle, as you know, is maintained not only in the party, but also in the state, in our federation. Does this mean suppressing the minority? No. It is, of course, necessary to heed their opinion. But you cannot ignore the opinion of the majority or go against that opinion. There are situations where the majority is upholding established traditions of some kind and showing commitment to familiar views, while the minority is more mobile and active. We are dealing with the society that actually exists today, not as some people would like it to be. Today some people are saying: The congress does not reflect the real state of society, and even if it does, all the same, they say, we should support the "left"—they are the salt of the earth, they are the essence, they are the truly progressive "elements," while the others are the "inert," "obedient," and suchlike majority. These are illusions, dangerous delusions. We should take into account both progressively and traditionally minded members of society, otherwise confrontation is inevitable, with all the ensuing grave consequences. And the task is constantly to seek consensus, the optimum balance of interests, the consolidation of forces.

And there could also be a minority that comes out, for instance, against restructuring. How do you suggest we should act in such a case?

That is why I am categorically opposed to definitions like the "aggressively obedient majority," especially since the "disobedient minority," to use the same terminology, was, in my view, no less "aggressive." I considered and still consider it incorrect to divide the people's deputies into progressives and conservatives, the intelligent ones and "the rest," the professionals and the nonprofessionals. The people elected the deputies. How the voters themselves will assess the correctness of their choice is another matter.

No doubt the method of seeking the truth by finding the majority is not always suitable and not always fair, but neither we nor anyone else in world practice has yet come up with an alternative. This means that debates, the highlighting and comparison of positions, are all the more necessary; the quest for "points" of contact, not demarcation, is necessary; the ability to convince, not to denounce, is necessary. This applies particularly to the examination of specific resolutions, decisions, and laws in the Supreme Soviet chambers. It is here that the opportunity arises without undue haste to weigh up

different options and alternative drafts, to find compromise formulas, and to take into account different views, including the opinion of the minority. I think all these questions will gradually evolve through our entire parliamentary practice.

[Correspondents] We are talking with you at a time when the Supreme Soviet is to continue its work after a short break. What are you personally, and the Supreme Soviet apparatus, doing during these days?

[Lukyanov] First and foremost, analyzing the results of the congress and summarizing and systematizing the deputies' numerous proposals, which will be submitted for examination by the standing commissions of the chambers and the committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Much time is spent on resolving organizational questions connected with the work of the commissions and committees.

I would like to take this opportunity to say that the continuation of the work of the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet will be in three stages: the completion of the formation of the USSR Government and other state organs; the organization of the fulfillment of the instructions of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies; and the examination of draft laws and other questions.

In the first stage, USSR Supreme Soviet committees and the standing commissions of the chambers are already discussing the candidacies for the USSR Government. At the same time proposals are being examined here on the composition of the USSR People's Control Committee, the USSR Supreme Court, and the collegiums of the USSR Prosecutor's Office and the USSR State Board of Arbitration. Subsequently, at joint sittings of the chambers, it is planned to discuss and confirm the composition of the government and other state organs.

At a joint sitting of the chambers it is also planned to examine the question of organizing the fulfillment of the instructions given to the Supreme Soviet by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and to ratify USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees. Here it is necessary to determine which committees and commissions will formulate the corresponding drafts or proposals, or whether the Supreme Soviet Presidium will do so, and to set time limits for fulfilling the instructions. At a general meeting of members of the USSR Supreme Soviet it is proposed to examine the question of the formation of the USSR Parliamentary Group and the composition of its organs.

At the beginning of July the USSR Supreme Soviet will apparently be able to embark on the examination of the draft laws that are in preparation. At the same time it is proposed during the period of the first session to discuss a number of normative acts of a pressing nature. They are connected with the improvement of legislation, the ratification of international treaties, and other questions assigned by the USSR Constitution to the competence of the Supreme Soviet. As you can see, the calendar for the session is very busy.

A couple of words about the apparatus, which is to say, the USSR Supreme Soviet Secretariat. Why did the apparatus receive so many justified criticisms? Because on the whole it was geared to serving the past sessions, which ran smoothly for 2 or 3 days, but then the congress descended on the apparatus like an avalanche, swamping it and paralyzing its accustomed work style. I would like to say this: We did not see any sign of unconscientiousness among the apparatus workers with regard to their duties; they did much work at the congress, and the burden would have been considerably less had we had modern organizational technology at our disposal.

Just one detail. The congress received, for instance, more than 141,000 letters and telegrams, and the congress presidium more than 2,840 deputies' messages. Some of them were taken up as official deputies' questions, and many were sent to various ministries, departments, and organizations. The result: no respite.

I also have to participate in the resolution of all these questions. And I myself have to think about many things. During the work of the congress I had about 100 meetings with deputies. Some of them were fleeting, in passing, so to speak, others were detailed, requiring careful consideration. And naturally, no one relieved me of my day-to-day duties—to the contrary, these duties are now growing all the time.

[Correspondents] The present parliament cannot be called professional. But the decisions it has to take will require the utmost professionalism. How can this gap between need and potential be covered? What will be the mechanism for preparing initial documents, draft decisions, and so forth? Is it planned to examine alternative proposals on all questions, be they personalities, ideas, or draft laws?

[Lukyanov] About professionalism. You know, in my life I have met with workers with a very wide political outlook and ministers whose outlook never went beyond a narrow circle of sector problems. I have known collective farm [kolkhoz] members who saw the problems of our countryside more clearly than any scientist. Therefore it is normal, good, right, for our people's deputies to include the specialist, the theorist, and the practitioner. Remember how the agriculturalist deputies gradually, step by step, polished their program appeal on questions of the resolution of the food problem, for which the whole congress then voted. I find it hard to say which of them was more a real parliamentarian—the kolkhoz chairman, the lease operator, or the scientist.

The accumulation of experience of state work will proceed in the Supreme Soviet and its chambers, committees, and commissions. They will most likely preside over the formulation of draft laws and initial documents themselves. Who else?

As for alternative solutions to various questions, I am in favor of precisely this approach. But of course, the Supreme Soviet itself will decide in each specific case.

[Correspondents] We are used to the majority of important state and national economic problems being examined at the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and the final decisions being adopted there. The practice of adopting joint CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions also still exists—and these too are binding on everyone. Will this practice continue now, and if so, how will it fit in with the transfer of the full plenitude of power to the soviets that has been proclaimed?

[Lukyanov] I must say that since April 1985 the party Central Committee and Politburo have been gradually moving away from the practice of adopting joint decisions. There are now considerably fewer of them, and I think that in principle they should not and will not be adopted. That is how the matter was formulated at the 27th party congress and the 19th CPSU Conference. This is also dictated by the logic of the course of delimiting functions between the party and state and between party, soviet, economic, and social organs.

The USSR Congress of People's Deputies reaffirmed its adherence to this line and came out in favor of the demarcation of political, legislative, executive, and control functions. A clear and precise model is emerging. The party, the CPSU Central Committee, the Politburo—that is politics. The Congress of People's Deputies, the Supreme Soviet—that is power. The USSR Council of Ministers, the central departments—that is operational executive work.

I could confine my answer to that. But since I detect in your questions an echo of the polemics that flared up from time to time at the Congress of People's Deputies about the party's role, I consider it my duty to be rather more specific. First: The abandonment of the leading political role of the CPSU now, in this very complex, ultradifficult period of our society's development, would be fatal. Yes, the party and its organizations and organs, both centrally and locally, have shortcomings; it has spoken honestly and loudly of its mistakes. The party, and specifically its present leadership, has assumed the full burden of responsibility for these mistakes, deliberately calling down critical fire on itself. But that should not overshadow the fact that it was the party, and no one else, that took the lead in restructuring. And I repeat Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's words, with which I am fully in agreement: Had it not been for April 1985, had it not been for the 27th congress and the party conference, we would not have had the Congress of People's Deputies. And that means we would not have had the processes of democratization and glasnost, the political and economic reforms, the concept of the new political thinking, and much, much more besides, which all of us are so accustomed to today.

Second. I think there is something preconceived and deliberate in saying that the single party system is the source of all our problems, that a multiparty system is needed. Those who make this complaint against the party should answer this question: When and where have they seen a multiparty system helping to do away with dictatorship and tyranny, when and where has such a system, in itself, resolved or accelerated the resolution of material, social, and economic questions?

Time will tell who is more concerned with the problems of the people's life, and who with talking about it. The questions that concern us all—and this is my profound conviction—can be resolved more successfully and rapidly only on the basis of the consolidation of society around the party, on the platform put forward by the party.

And a third thing. Those who use the slogan "All power to the soviets" to mean power without party leadership are deliberately dragging us back 7 decades. Nothing will come of it. The efforts of the renewed soviet power and the political work of the renewed party will be pooled consistently with a view to more fully uncovering the potential of our socialist social system. This is a most important component of all the preparations for the next, 28th, party congress, for which—and I would like to emphasize this—the USSR Congress of People's Deputies did good work. I am sure that the party will repay the highest organ of people's power in kind.

[Correspondents] How will the relationship between the Supreme Soviet and the government be structured under the new conditions?

[Lukyanov] The will of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and Supreme Soviet is law, for the government. Demands on it are increasing.

Under the new conditions the Congress of People's Deputies and Supreme Soviet should be the epicenter of control of the activity of executive organs and all other state organs. That is a fundamental point.

This supreme control presupposes regular accountability by the organs of management. It presupposes the examination of the government's answers to deputies' queries and questions. And, most importantly, the assessment of the work of specific leaders and all officials. This means that the influence of the people's deputies on the selection and placing of cadres in all key state posts will be consistently strengthened. This is another level of responsibility that the body of deputies is assuming.

[Correspondents] One hears the complaint that we see in the new structures many old or, shall we say, familiar leaders from the past. Do you believe that new functions are capable of changing people's accustomed style and methods of work, and producing new results?

[Lukyanov] This is not entirely the case. Take, for instance, the country's Supreme Soviet. It can hardly be compared to the previous Supreme Soviet, not only in size (the present one is virtually three times the size) but also in composition. The composition of the leaders of the chambers, committees, and standing commissions has been entirely renewed, and if you go through virtually the entire list of members of the Supreme Soviet—they are new names.

We see approximately the same picture in the government. In its new composition, as submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet for confirmation, there are only 10 ministers who belonged to the Council of Ministers formed in 1984 by the previous convocation of the Supreme Soviet. Virtually one in three members of the government is proposed for appointment for the first time. The average age of the members of the government is 55.

But of course, we will all judge the officials by their actions. And if any minister bungles the job, no one will protect him from the keen gaze and searching demands of the Congress of People's Deputies and Supreme Soviet.

[Correspondents] The deputies have gone their separate ways, many until the next congress. In what direction, in your view, should they develop their activity as deputies? What trends in the behavior of the body of deputies do you find encouraging or alarming?

[Lukyanov] First of all, of course, they must meet with their voters, and virtually all the deputies have begun their "domestic" work by doing so. I do not think they can do without very close business contacts with the local soviet and party organs.

Not all the deputies—and they acknowledge this frankly—are well acquainted with existing legislation and topical economic questions. Clearly there is some sense in organizing appropriate training for the deputies. Some ideas are now being studied in this respect. In my view those deputies who have decided to throw themselves into self-education are also acting correctly.

Let me speak for myself. In the course of the congress I often caught myself thinking that I will have to supplement the collection of knowledge I acquired at Moscow University while studying, teaching, and preparing my doctoral dissertation, and I will also have to reevaluate the experience I have accumulated in my years of work in state and party organs. My knowledge of the history of the formation of the soviets and questions of state building requires substantial updating. I feel the need, for instance, to go much more deeply into practical questions of economics, sociology, and social psychology, without which the work of representative and, indeed, all state organs is inconceivable today.

During my work in the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the party Central Committee, I have had occasion to visit virtually all the union republics on official business. I have been to the Far North and the Far East. I have recently had meetings with delegations from the people's fronts of the Baltic republics, and representatives of a number of peoples and ethnic groups from Transcaucasia and other regions of the country. Interethnic relations are one of the most acute political problems today, and their study, analysis, and reinterpretation are absolutely essential.

Finally, there is an urgent need to study foreign parliamentary experience in greater depth. After all, there is much that we must learn, and learn as regards the organization of party work. The Congress of People's Deputies showed this very clearly.

The orientation of people's deputies toward major work, the sincere desire to decide, to prove, to achieve something, is encouraging. What is alarming is some people's desire to look good on the platform, to ask a question when they already know the answer. I think these are teething troubles, and we will gradually overcome them.

But here is a contradiction that has arisen. In the heat of the election struggle, many promises were made. Now the bills have to be settled. Today some people are trying to blame the central and local organs—they are delaying, they say, they are not resolving matters, although when the deputy promised mountains of gold, he courageously undertook to deal with all the problems, without consulting anyone. But the voters must be told the truth—they will find out soon enough. Although the right to a deputy's seat is granted for 5 years, each deputy will have to confirm it daily.

[Correspondents] Even back during the pre-election struggle many people's deputies had less than perfect relations with local leaders and the apparatus. But changes can only be achieved if deputies and local authorities are not going to oppose each other. You will agree that the apparatus has many means for obstructing the activity of people's deputies. How should things be now? And what must legislators do in the future to reliably protect their powers?

[Lukyanov] You seem to me to be painting a portrait of a deputy lacking both will and rights. I haven't met any like that. Each of them is more a fighter who passed through an ordeal on the path to his deputy's mandate that would be beyond many apparatchiks' wildest dreams. People's deputies can stand up both for themselves and for their rights.

As for the conditions for deputies' activity, relevant explanations have already been given to the localities on the USSR Supreme Soviet's behalf. Their main thrust is that local organs must support deputies and give them all possible assistance. In turn deputies must not divorce themselves from reality or put themselves in an exclusive position, but must operate in contact with the authorities in the localities. The congress resolution "On the Preparation of a Draft Law on the Status of People's Deputies in the USSR" published recently contains a great deal on what we are talking about.

[Correspondents] A commission to formulate a new Constitution has been created. What objectives is it being set—submitting a variant of the Constitution for a transitional period or, as was done in the United States more than 200 years ago, creating a Constitution guaranteeing the development of society for centuries to come?

[Lukyanov] I wouldn't be so bold as to talk about centuries ahead. Our society is on the march. Restructuring is deepening. Let us think about how to incorporate in the new Constitution all the wealth of new ideas born of the renewal process, including ideas expressed at the congress, so that the socialist nature of our society is strengthened, a rule-of-law state is formed, and citizens' rights and freedoms are ensured.

I favor a stable constitution which would discard everything transient and retain the basic elements. Work on a new Constitution will require the mobilization of the country's entire intellectual potential. What do I see as indisputable? The Constitution must guarantee that all conditions for the development of people's initiative are created; that there will be no return to authoritarian methods of rule; that as there is more democracy there will also be greater organization, discipline, and order. That is, the Constitution must work for democracy and for a strong state—that is the main thing.

[Correspondents] Anatoliy Ivanovich, what would be your attitude to the a statement like this: M. Gorbachev, the congress presidium, and others pursued their line with an iron hand, formed a team, and defended their principles—so the objective was achieved. No, we will see what they achieve. We will watch and we will question. We make no secret of our concern about this: Each for their own reasons, radicals and conservatives alike, are objectively capable of obstructing change. What should be done? What can serve as a guarantee of the irreversibility of restructuring and the improvement of the people's life?

[Lukyanov] Let us leave the "iron hand" to the personality cult and stagnation eras. If this had been so, many people would never have seen either a deputy's mandate or the changes currently taking place in society. But we know that there are and will be people with an inclination to bide their time, gloat at failures, throw wrenches into the works of restructuring, count up the failures, and compute "penalty points." We also know that there are people who like to watch what is happening from the sidelines.

At the same time the Congress of People's Deputies convincingly demonstrated the might of the healthy forces which have emerged and are advancing along with the party and are prepared to act and create restructuring.

The party's course and commitment to self-renewal have been and remain the guarantee of renewal. This course now has a firm power-based foundation—the Congress of People's Deputies. But nothing improves or forms itself. Everything depends on us ourselves. History has given us the chance. And it will take it away again if we don't use it.

[Correspondents] How do you see the prospects for the new supreme organs of power?

[Lukyanov] Lenin was the source of the idea that soviets provide the opportunity to combine the benefits of parliamentarianism with direct democracy—that is, to combine both the legislative function and the execution of laws in the shape of elected representatives of the people. Our supreme organ of power is a combination of direct mass action and direct democracy in the shape of the Congress of People's Deputies, and a parliament and parliamentary forms of work in the shape of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Their efficient functioning, driven by the interests of the people's masses, will produce great results, I'm sure.

An old friend of mine, a Communist and former frontline soldier, reminded me recently of his favorite maxim: "Action breeds sense." Let us work. Let us do the job.

Gorbachev Report to Congress Published in Brochure
LD1906221689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] Politizdat has published the brochure "Mikhail Sergeyevich on the Main Directions of the USSR's Domestic and Foreign Policy: Report and Closing Speech at the Country's Congress of People's Deputies".

Economist Deputies Hold Moscow News Conference
LD1706215189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 17 Jun 89

[Video report on a Moscow news conference on "problems of the economy at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies"; date not given—from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent] Our leading economists, in analyzing the country's economic situation, assert with one voice that we only have 1 and ½ to 2 years in which to stabilize it. Otherwise, financial imbalances and economic failures will not only negate the obvious results of

political renewal, but plunge the country into a deep and protracted crisis. That is why the economists and people's deputies who were not given the platform at the congress have considered it their duty to speak to the public and the press about their reform programs. Here are just a few points from them.

[Oleg Timofeyevich Bogomolov, identified by caption] Each worker's ownership of his own labor must be enshrined in law and implemented in practice, together with his right to dispose of it freely. We need a rather high degree of freedom for the individual participant in economic life—freedom based on the links in the market and on an exchange equivalent to reasonable, but by no means all-embracing, state control.

[Gennadiy Stepanovich Lisichkin; identified by caption] Of course money cannot become money while we still have the theory of the state budget as the single caldron and the single pocket. The idea of a single state budget needs to be opened out. We've got to determine precisely for each economic subject and each region and republic its sources of finance and get away from the normative basis of the present budget financing.

[Unidentified speaker] Land reform must, without fail, provide for the consideration for the national republics, including the autonomous republics, to decide on the question of concrete forms of land ownership.

[Correspondent] Of course our reportage cannot accomodate the whole of this 2-hour economic marathon. It's obvious, however, that the measures proposed by the economists are more radical than what the government put forward at the congress, and they therefore have a real chance of being implemented.

[Unidentified speaker, to correspondent] Lately we've seen the beginning of a consistent desire on the part of the government and the country's leadership to integrate as far as possible all these positive elements that were contained in the speeches of many of the delegates.

[Gavril Popov] The government's program is an open program, and it's ready to accept all valuable ideas, regardless of whether they come from a group or from an individual, an academician or a rank-and-file worker. For the government's program there is no such thing as a person's official position, or group pressure. There is the question of the depth of the research and the effectiveness of the measures that are planned, the fruitfulness of what they may achieve, and not only from whom they come.

[Correspondent] That hope is further strengthened by the fact that the interregional group of deputies, of which Gavril Popov is a member and of which he spoke, is now analyzing and summarizing new economic ideas. In addition, Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin has been offered the post of first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Chairman Kryuchkov Interviewed on Role of KGB

LD2506170189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1920 GMT 24 Jun 89

[The "Before and After Midnight" program, introduced by Vladimir Molchanov; including interview with Vladimir Aleksandrovich Kryuchkov, head of the USSR Committee for State Security, by Stanislav Polzikov for the Novosti News Agency; date and place of interview not specified—recorded]

[Text] [Molchanov] It is always interesting to find out more about a person whose work was shrouded in secrecy until recently, and whose photograph we have only seen once in newspapers when he was appointed to this lofty post. He is Vladimir Aleksandrovich Kryuchkov, and he heads the USSR Committee for State Security. The Novosti Press Agency has been kind enough to let us have these clips from an interview he gave at the time of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. So what is most important in the work of the Committee for State Security? What does its chairman think of the criticism directed toward the KGB during the USSR Congress of People's Deputies? Who controls our state security, and how? And finally—of just as much interest to us—does the chairman of the KGB have time for a personal life? [video cuts to Kryuchkov seated with interviewer, Stanislav Polzikov]

[Kryuchkov] This is the first television interview I have given in my life. I avoid making appearances for some reason. But maybe this is connected with the fact that I headed Soviet intelligence for a long time, and that is something you do not publicize. I ran Soviet intelligence for 14 years alone. I hope that our first meeting, as it were, will not be our last, and I would like to personally state that the state security body should have an image not only in our country but worldwide which is consistent with the noble goals which I believe we are pursuing in our work.

The Committee for State Security is not a charity, of course. We are fighting against those who break the law. And I think that all our comrades and Soviet people understand this. People abroad understand this, too. The committee engages in the following operations: intelligence—maybe this is the first time that the chairman of the committee is saying these words officially, but that is the case; and counter-intelligence, including military counter-intelligence, which means providing backup in terms of counter-intelligence for all our Armed Forces. There are the border troops. We are engaged in combatting smuggling and terror. By the way, since I have touched on this topic, I have to say that we are interested in the broadest possible cooperation and contacts with all similar organizations abroad. There have been contacts of this sort.

We believe that combating terror is a global problem, because terrorists are quite indiscriminate about who they are dealing with, be it children, adults, women, or

men. Probably recent events have confirmed this clearly. Deputy Vlasov's speech at the congress, as far as the Committee for State Security is concerned, was the most harsh. Very likely such harsh comments have not appeared in our press, either. I have to say, first, that I do not welcome this speech, because I do not agree with many—and I stress many—of its positions, and furthermore I do not consider them to be objective. On the other hand—and maybe this will seem strange to you—but you know, I think that it can be understood, too, to a certain extent.

What do I mean by that? Well, after all, the history of our state and the history of our party is not straightforward. The history of the state security bodies is not straightforward either. There have been periods, which you know about, when state security bodies played a negative role, that is, they played the most active part in violating socialist legality. It is true that not all its officers took part. It is no secret that thousands upon thousands of security officers suffered for refusing to take part in infringements of the law—some of them paid with their lives. I think that when Deputy Vlasov talked about this, he was probably thinking more in terms of the 1930's, 1940's, and the beginning of the 1950's. But it is now 1989, and the state security bodies have changed, as have their place and role in society.

I have to say that we are working strictly on the basis of two categories: law and the truth, law and the truth. Only these two categories are our goals and our reference points, nothing else. Furthermore, I do not mean that everything's rosy and there are no infringements. We do come across these things, and we mete out severe punishment for them and report this to the press. There have already been relevant articles on this score. Well, some say that there have been few articles of this kind. I shall say that there have in fact been few, because there have not been that many offenses here, I mean in recent years.

I think that Deputy Vlasov can evidently also be understood from the viewpoint that we still do not write much about the state security bodies, as was stated a little earlier. As for supervision, you know that there is supervision of the work of state security bodies, and in recent years it has been very strict. I should say that party control is a very strict category. We report at sessions....

[Polzikov, interrupting] To the Politburo?

[Kryuchkov] To the Politburo, that's quite right. We are checked by comrades and staff from the administrative department of the Party Central Committee on individual problems, on individual matters, and when any complaints or statements come in, the most demanding check is carried out. We also have financial checks. I should also say that we are checked both through the government and the presidium. The relevant conclusions are drawn and shortcomings are found. But now the point at issue is a different form of supervision, and this means in particular setting up either a committee or a commission. This will be decided upon by the congress in the Supreme Soviet, which would be engaged in daily, constant supervision of the work of state security bodies.

I shall reveal one secret. You know, the Committee for State Security was among those behind setting up this committee. We have a great interest in this. First, we shall have a chance to give our viewpoint, and our judgement, at a forum such as a committee or a commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet would be. We shall talk frankly there about our problems and the difficulties that we are encountering, and I expect that we shall even be helped a little.

As for how the committee or the commission will work, this is a matter for the committee or the commission. It will determine this for itself, although we shall of course try to be actively involved in the work of this committee.

I would like to say one more thing anyway. Neither the procuracy bodies, nor the MVD bodies, nor the state security bodies, can tackle the problems facing them by themselves. They can only be tackled by relying on people and on the support of labor collectives. Recently we have greatly extended our links and contacts with labor collectives.

[Polzikov] Do you have a large family?

[Kryuchkov] I have sons. I have a grandson and a granddaughter that I love very much. I have a wife. Yes, I am a family man, but unfortunately I have very little time to spend with the family.

[Polizkov] What is your own routine? How much do you work?

[Kryuchkov] You know, I am even ashamed to say that I work a great deal—14-16 hours. On Sundays I allow myself 4-5 hours off, no more. That's right, no more than that—I mean in the afternoon. The only thing that saves me is an exceedingly constructive and positive attitude to physical training.

[Polzikov] So you make time for swimming.

[Kryuchkov] I try to go swimming for an hour every morning, it's very difficult. I also love skiing, like a true Russian.

[Polzikov] Do you ever take a holiday?

[Kryuchkov] I do go on holiday, but I haven't managed one this year or last year. But I have a hobby—the theater; I love the theater.

[Polzikov] Do you like the modern theater?

[Kryuchkov] Of course. I think that there are a number of theaters in the history of our theatrical arts that have made a whole era. The Sovremennik opened with its

plays in the square back then. I am sorry that this building has been destroyed. I am very sad about that; there is something missing. But I think that probably the right thing was done. I have great respect for the Taganka. It has staged wonderful things. I think that 10 Days That Shook the World is a masterpiece, and The Good Person from Sechuan. I like Brecht a lot generally. He was a great playwright, of course, and it is no accident that Soviet people respect him so highly. But I also like our academic theater. True, they have broken away from the past and turned to our modern-day topics, and that can only be welcomed. It is impossible not to idolize the Bolshoy Theater. I like Hungarian literature a great deal. I decided to reread Sholokhov. "Quiet Flows the Don" is a great work. Of the modern literature I try to read Znamye and Novyy Mir; I skim through them. But unfortunately there is very little time for this.

[Molchanov] We are grateful to Vladimir Aleksandrovich Kryuchkov for the interview in which he expressed the hope that this first television acquaintance would not be the last. We hope for this very much, too, and invite Vladimir Aleksandrovich to the studio of our program. Like the authors, we have numerous letters that are coming into the studio. There is one specific request to the KGB chairman for help in establishing the names of the people that became victims of the Stalinist terror and whose remains rest in mass graves on the edge of Moscow. Journalist Aleksandr Melchikov has already reported on this in one of our programs. Memorials should stand on these people's graves. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev also c ed for this at a meeting with the intelligentsia at the CPSU Central COmmittee. He appealed to all of us because the memory of these people should be sacred to us.

More Reports on Novyy Uzen, Kazakh Disturbances

Situation 'Under Control' 23 Jun

PM2406132089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent V. Ardayev report: "Novyy Uzen: Situation Under Control"—last paragraph is editorial note]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 23 Jun—As the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] reports, the situation in the city of Novyy Uzen is now comparatively stable. This was largely promoted by the imposition of a curfew and other measures adopted by the republic internal affairs organs in conjunction with USSR MVD internal troops.

However, in the outlying settlements, where no emergency measures have yet been adopted, disturbances continue. Thus in the last 24 hours, 22-23 June, a rally involving approximately 200 people was held in the settlement of Munayshi, and another involving about 1,000 in the settlement of Dzhetybay, where, apart from the earlier demands (the release of all those under arrest, the eviction of all persons of Caucasian nationalities, and so forth), the following demands, among others, were also put forward: Lift the curfew in Novyy Uzen, withdraw the internal troops, and also rename the city of Shevchenko as Aktau. Similar demonstrations were held in the settlement of Yeraliyev and in the region of Mangyshlak station near Shevchenko City.

In the course of the rallies some of the participants tried to provoke excesses: They called on people to lay siege to the buildings of the internal affairs organs, break windows, and throw stones at militia workers. But as a rule such actions were nipped in the bud. As a result of identity checks on some of those who were detained, it was established that many of them are inhabitants of Novyy Uzen, who had, by all appearances, traveled from there specially in order to organize such demonstrations in places where the curfew is not in force. Among the most active participants in the disorders one can also sense the inflammatory influence of criminal elements who try specifically to provoke attacks on the buildings of the internal affairs buildings and secure the release of those detained there.

As S. Serikov, Kazakh SSR deputy minister of internal affairs, reported, at present the situation in the western Caspian region is under the control of the security forces.

A republican governmental commission is in operation in Novyy Uzen under the leadership of O. Zheltikov, deputy chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers, and is drawing up and adopting concrete measures to radically resolve the socioeconomic problems that have accumulated there.

[Editorial note] We take this opportunity to reply to all those readers from whom we have been receiving excited telephone calls and telegrams since the very first reports on events in Novyy Uzen. On the subject of the mistakes supposedly made by IZVESTIYA concerning the administrative territorial status of the city: Mangyshlak Oblast was abolished a year ago and the whole of its territory passed to Guryev Oblast, also belonging to the Kazakh SSR, as IZVESTIYA reported back in April last year.

Party Body Elects New Officials

LD2406154689 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Russian 1410 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] A plenum of the Novyy Uzen town party committee was held today to discuss the causes of the recent antisocial phenomena. Participants analyzed in detail the state of affairs in the town, and laid down specific measures aimed at normalizing the situation. Particular attention was paid to eliminating shortcomings in the socioeconomic sphere, and to political education work among the workers and the entire population, primarily among young people.

An organizational matter was considered. Kumiskaliyev was relieved of his responsibilities as first secretary of the town committee, and Chordabayev was elected to this post.

Kulibayev, first secretary of the Guryev Oblast Party Committee, and Zheltikov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, took part in the plenum proceedings.

Also held today was a session of the town Soviet of People's Deputies. (Zhumasov) was elected chairman of the town executive committee, relieving (Kurichev) of this post.

Situation in Novyy Uzen 'Strained'

LD2406164489 Moscow TASS in English 1606 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June 24 TASS—It is already known now that the atmosphere in the town of Novyy Uzen, situated amid Magyshlak desert in Kazakhstan, a Soviet Asian republic, was strained long before the recent mass unrest, TRUD newspaper wrote on Saturday.

The newspaper's correspondent reported that the leaders of party, local-government and law enforcement bodies of the republic, who became members of a government commission, directly and frankly spoke at a news conference in Alma-Ata of the social causes of what had happened.

While developing the oil-bearing peninsula by means of ultra-modern equipment, union ministries and departments have been for decades ignoring the needs of the local population and keeping this not so small town, situated near an oil-field, in super-hard living conditions.

Everything in the town posed a long-standing and unresolved problem: housing, water, and supply. The town authorities are unable to give an exact number of unemployed young people—either 1200 or 2000. Meanwhile a large part of industrial equipment is in use only during one shift.

The newspaper reported that four people had died as a result of the tragic events—two Kazakhs, a Lezghin, and a Turkmen.

The number of those injured is being established. More than fifty members of the personnel of law enforcement agencies suffered from the unrest.

The situation in the town is still far from being fully normalised, the newspaper wrote. Extremists still demand that a militia chief who is accused of killing one of rowdies be handed over to them, that all Transcaucasians be removed from the twon within seven days, and that all those detained for rowdy behaviour be released. Unfortunately, the conflict has spread over to nearby workers' settlements, sparking off clashes between groups of people of various nationalities, unsanctioned meetings and demonstrations.

Kazakhstan Disorders 'Spreading'

LD2406195389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] On the events in Novyy Uzen in Guryev Oblast in Kazakhstan. The situation in the town remains complex and is full of intrinsic tension. As before, distrust lies at the basis of relations between the two sides. Today there was a plenum of the Novyy Uzen town committee of the party of Kazakhstan. The situation which has come about was evaluated and some of the causes which led to it were mentioned. Kumiskaliyev, first secretary of the town committee, was released from his work. Chordabayev, who previously worked as chief engineer of the Tengizneftegaz production association and who is well known to the people of Novyy Uzen, was elected first secretary. The operational situation in the region remains complex. The disorders and pogroms [pogromy] are spreading to population centers where the curfew has not been introduced. For example, in the past 24 hours there have been demonstrations by young Kazakhs in the settlements of Yeraliyev, Kulsary, Shetpe, at Mangyshlak Station, and in the town of Fort-Shevchenko.

According to Police Major Sivushov, a spokesman for the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs press service, at Manglyshak station a crowd of 150 people armed with sticks, stones and metal rods attacked the settlement's police station. They were dispersed with the help of servicemen who arrived in helicopters, and 51 people were arrested. Yesterday evening in the settlement of Yeraliyev, 140 immigrants from the Caucasus demanding to be guaranteed safety by the local authorities were taken away to a geologists' dispensary protected by the police and the internal troops. A further 80 people were sent to the town of Shevchenko.

Meanwhile, something encouraging has occurred. Upon the initiative of an informal solidarity committee, a dialogue has begun in Novyy Uzen with spokesmen of the Kazakh nationality.

Discord Moves to Outlying Settlements

PM2506134689 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jun 89 Second Edition p 6

[PRAVDA correspondent D. Gutenev report: "Novyy Uzen: Situation Remains Tense"]

[Text] Guryev Oblast, 24 Jun—In the morning, I went to the maternity home. Near to it, according to the city commandant, a young man was detained one night recently carrying a Molotov cocktail. At his home they found 17 more of these incendiary "shells." The investigation group will find out what they were intended for. But in the meantime, in the wards of this home, which is

familiar to the vast majority of the population, the city's young inhabitants snore peacefully. And the fathers, who come running up to the windows in the evening, have the same feelings whatever people they belong to.

"Everything is calm here," chief physician V. Shin told me. "Kazakh and Chechen, Russian and Lezgin women lie in these wards. They share gifts with each other, they share breast milk. God forbid that discord should ever touch these children's souls."

The previous day, before the start of the curfew, I had walked around the housing districts. Life is taking its course. The warm evening had brought the people out into the streets. Children were running around the yards. Adults were keeping an eye on them. Tranquil life appeared to be taking its normal course. But not everything is as simple as that. The situation in the city is full of inner drama. Relations between the two sides are still founded on distrust.

Daily oil extraction has fallen by 700 tonnes, and in June the drilling shortfall was 11,000 meters, which is equivalent to 10 days' work. A government commission on the socioeconomic development of Novyy Uzen City began work yesterday under the leadership of O. Zheltikov, deputy chairman of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Repbulic Council of Ministers. The commission is made up of people who are empowered to resolve the urgent problems, and to prepare a government decision including radical measures to eliminate distortions in the city's social and economic life.

The operation of transport is returning to normal. Passengers, trade, public catering, and municipal services are not experiencing an acute shortage of transport. All the food stores, canteens, and kindergartens, and half the consumer service enterprises, are operating.

A plenum of the Novyy Uzen City Kazakh Party Committee [gorkom] was held today. It gave an assessment of the situation that developed and mentioned some of its causes. Gorkom First Secretary Ye. Kumiskaliyev was relieved of his post. R. Chordabayev, formerly chief engineer at the "Tengizneftegaz" Production Association, who is well known to the people of Novyy Uzen, was elected first secretary.

The operational situation remains complex in the region. Disorders and pogroms are moving to settlements where a curfew has not been imposed. In particular, in the last 24 hours there were demonstrations by young Kazakhs in the settlements of Yeraliyev, Kulsary, and Shepke, at Mangyshlak Station, and in Fort-Shevchenko City. As Militia Major V. Sivushov, a spokesman for the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs press service, reported, at Mangyshlak Station a crowd of 150 people armed with sticks, stones, and metal bars attacked the settlement militia department. With the help of servicemen who arrived by helicopters, the crowd was dispersed. Fifty-one people were detained. In Kulsary during the night, hooligans broke the windows of two hostel cars used by temporary workers employed on ancillary construction work at the Tengiz deposit, poured in an inflammable liquid, set fire to it, and hid.

The participants in a rally in Fort-Shevchenko City demanded the lifting of the curfew in Novyy Uzen and the withdrawal of the soldiers of the internal forces. The young people expressed solidarity with the demands of the Kazakh section of the population of Novyy Uzen. During and after the rally, there were no violations of public order.

Yesterday evening in the settlement of Yeraliyev 140 people originally from the Caucasus, who had demanded a guarantee of safety from the local authorities, were taken to the geologists' dispensary under the protection of the militia and soldiers, and another 80 people were sent to Shevchenko City.

Meanwhile an encouraging event has occurred. On the initiative of the informal "Solidarity" committee, a dialogue has begun with representatives of the Kazakh nationality.

Kazakh Council of Ministers Administrator Retires

LD1606170189 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1400 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] At the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers—The Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers released Comrade Izyumnikov from his duties as administrator of affairs of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers in connection with his retirement on pension. (Comrade Selivanov) was elected administrator of affairs of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers.

Peace Committee Issues Statement on Uzbekistan

LD2106210589 Moscow TASS in English 1900 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June 21 TASS—The Soviet Peace Committee said in a statement in connection with the events in Uzbekistan that the democratization and perestroyka of Soviet society have imparted a powerful impulse to the processes of national revival of small and large ethnic communities across the Soviet Union and laid bare a series of grave issues in the inter-ethnic relations. In part, the tragic events in Fergana and Kokand which have attracted the attention of the Soviet and world public "must teach everyone a serious lesson and once again remind people how delicate and finely balanced an approach is required by inter-ethnic relations, how important are the well thought-out collective efforts of all the Soviet nations aimed at the triumph of peace and an ever closer fraternal cooperation in our own homeland."

Fergana Obkom Chief Interviewed on 'Tragedy'

PM2306180089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 Jun 89 First Edition p 6

[Interview with Sh.M. Yuldashev, first secretary of Fergana Oblast Party Committee, by correspondent A. Kaipbergenov in Fergana: "Disentangling a Tight Knot: On Events in Fergana Oblast"; date of interview not given; first two paragraphs are Kaipbergenov introduction]

[Text] Fergana—For the whole of June reports from Fergana have evoked a painful response in Soviet people's hearts. About 100 deaths. More than 700 homes burned down and plundered. A total of 16,282 Meskhetian Turks uprooted from their homes. For many inhabitants of Uzbekistan, the first 10 days of June will always be remembered as days of humiliation and insults, of unceasing anxiety for their nearest and dearest. Soldiers in flak jackets and helmets, armed with submachineguns, patrol around the clock on the intersections and highways of Fergana Oblast. The windows of the party rayon committees [raykoms], city committees [gorkoms], and oblast committee [obkom] are illuminated into the night.

In the first days, the days of greatest tension, when agitated crowds whipped up by criminals were committing atrocities in cities and villages, the first secretary of Fergana party obkom had, of course, no time for interviews. Sh. Yuldashev has not been head of the oblast party organization for long: He was elected first secretary in October 1988. At the end of the year we met at an oblast party conference at which there was a keen discussion of the oblast's socioeconomic, ecological, and interethnic problems. That was when the decision was adopted to combat the monocultural cotton industry, which has killed off the once famous orchards and vineyards of this land of plenty. In accordance with the decision adopted, this year the cotton area was reduced by 10,000 hectares. And now we were meeting again. We agreed that Shavkat Mukhitdinovich would share his experiences frankly.

[Yuldashev] I returned to Fergana from the Congress of People's Deputies in the evening of 4 June. I must admit that the tragic events caught us unawares. We assumed it was only a question of groups of hooligans starting conflicts on trivial grounds. That is how the appropriate organs informed us. However, subsequent developments showed that we were up against a carefully planned and prepared action. We now have around 40 intercepted radio communications between groups of gangsters who were coordinating their operations. The backbone of the formations consisted of people with a criminal past, and behind them are fervent nationalists supported by the champions of the formation of a "pan-Islamic state." Thus what happened was a skirmish of reactionary forces who were preparing to destabilize the situation not only in Fergana Oblast, but in the whole of an extensive region. Let me emphasize: Neither party, nor soviet, nor law enforcement organs had imagined this course of events. This must be admitted honestly. The interethnic conflict was only a smokescreen. The Meskhetian Turks were the victims of provocations with political objectives.

The politicization of events is also indicated by the physical torture to which party and soviet workers were subjected, the attacks on party committees, the attempts to seize vital facilities—stations, industrial enterprises—the desire to release imprisoned criminals by force, and the assaults on militia departments where weapons and ammunition were kept. That is to say, it was a question of a threat to state security.

Or take another "coincidence": The first spark flared up in Kuvasay a day or two before the opening of the Congress. The worst outburst of lawlessness took place during the days when the country's people's deputies were examining fundamental questions of our society's development, when the oblast and republic leaders were in Moscow.

[Kaipbergenov] Why did the conflagration break out specifically in Fergana Oblast?

[Yuldashev] The idea, I think, was as follows. First, look at the geography of the Fergana Valley. Our oblast borders on not only Andizhan and Namangan Oblasts in Uzbekistan, but also Osh Oblast in Kirghizia and Leninabad Oblast in Tajikistan, where many Uzbeks live. On the other hand, in the Fergana Valley for years tens of thousands of young people have been unable to find work and have no proper housing. The valley has the country's highest population density per square kilometer. And you can add to that the high child mortality and high level of infectious diseases among inhabitants, and the low level of consumption of the main food products per head of population. For instance, meat consumption here is only just over half the average for Uzbekistan, while the republic, as you know, holds one of the bottom places in the country. In recent years, in the pursuit of gross indicators for cotton, this land of plenty failed to supply itself even with vegetables, fruit, and berries. The environment—the air, the soil, the water—is polluted by industrial effluent. All this caused mass dissatisfaction among the population. This very complex knot of problems accumulated over the years, and its resolution was postponed "to better times." This was spoken of at a recent republican party aktiv meeting in Tashkent, in which N.I. Ryzhkov and V.M. Chebrikov took part.

The organizers of the disorders were counting on a "chain reaction" and on general socioeconomic disorganization among the population.

[Kaipbergenov] But these problems were the subject of a keen discussion at the party conference, and concrete decisions were adopted then...

[Yuldashev] Yes, we immediately set about the task. We began the redesignation of the Novokokandskiy Chemicals Combine, in conjunction with the Ministry of the Chemical Industry. We are implementing a program costing tens of millions of rubles to switch a number of enterprises to waste-free, ecologically clean technology. We have begun intensive construction of housing and roads. In spring we laid out more new orchards and vineyards than in the last 10-15 years. Potatoes alone have five times the previous amount of cultivated area. We are moving toward direct links with well-known foreign firms to organize joint enterprises...

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the Soviet Government approved a program for Uzbekistan's socioeconomic development through 1995, which makes provision in our oblast, in particular, for the construction of electronic industry enterprises, dozens of plants, and agricultural processing shops and production lines that will provide 100,000 extra jobs.

The organizers of the disturbances, in my view, were expecting the people to follow them on a mass scale, especially young people. But people quickly realized what was what and began to rebuff the gangsters themselves—as happened, for instance, in Buvaydinskiy and Bagdadskiy rayons, where internal troops were not brought in. In the Yazyanvan Zone in Akhunbabayevskiy Rayon, the provocateurs got it in the neck from the first, to such an extent that they did not put in an appearance there.

[Kaipbergenov] The disorders were also organized, as I understand it, by people from other oblasts?

[Yuldashev] Certainly. A few days ago we received information that in Syr-Darya Oblast two trucks had been detained, loaded with explosives, firebombs, grenades, weapons, and ammunition. The criminals were bringing drugs and syringes to Fergana. These and other instances indicate the active role of corrupt elements.

[Kaipbergenov] Shavkat Mukhitdinovich, the process of cleansing the republic of corrupt elements began 5 years ago. Since then many former leaders have been expelled from the party and arrested. And at the same time, even today we are talking about corrupt elements.

[Yuldashev] First, the self-cleansing process by the republic Communist Party was not particularly profound, and failed to reach the basic structures. They were seeking to put on a show, such and such a number of people were expelled, arrested, relieved of their posts. They loudly enumerated the names of former obkom and Central Committee secretaries, but the conditions for the resurgence of crime and abuses remained, as we can see.

Second, the process of cleaning up the corruption was often headed by the most unscrupulous people. I am talking about Usmankhodzhayev, the other leaders... Until October of last year the Fergana Oblast party organization was headed by Kh. Umarov, who was arrested later. They entrusted wolves with protecting the herd against wolves. In that situation, could you expect any real results?

[Kaipbergenov] The problems of ideological work in the new conditions were raised urgently at the conference. Recent events have shown that for the most part people are poorly informed about how the decisions adopted are being fulfilled. Is not this one reason why many of the region's inhabitants had no counterarguments of their own against the extremists' slogans?

[Yuldashev] We are used to working with "the masses," and not with the individual. We expected everyone to read the newspapers, listen to the radio, and go to meetings with candidate people's deputies. We failed to take account of the fact that people had accumulated so many troubles... And that is why they are showing tremendous impatience.

In order to win support, the extremists pass themselves off as the sole champions of the people's interests. They raise problems that have been uncovered and are being resolved by the republic party organization. They also raised the green banners of Islam above the crowd. And that is no accident, either. It shows the same reliance on the traditional influence of religion, especially in the countryside. For the organizers of mutiny, the main thing is to win over the masses.

[Kaipbergenov] PRAVDA has already written about the heroic actions of certain party workers in emergency conditions. But there are instances of another kind too...

[Yuldashev] I repeat, the tragic course of events caught everyone unawares—party, soviet, and law enforcement organs. Events developed unexpectedly quickly. The party workers on Tashlakskiy Raykom, for instance, could only set about tackling their own duties after they had ensured the safety of more than 200 Meskhetian Turks who took refuge in the raykom building. Dozens of women, children, and old people of various nationalities hid in the Margilan party gorkom building. And in my view it is unjust to reproach Kh. Mukhutdinova, first secretary of the gorkom, for supposedly cordoning off the gorkom with troops. It was a question of saving the lives of the people who had filled all the gorkom's offices and cellars. Khabiba Yulchiyevna personally acted courageously and resolutely. And these are not isolated examples. At a difficult time, people saw their salvation in the party committees. In general, assessing those days, I would like to say: A terrible tragedy happened. A tragedy for the Meskhetian Turks and for the Uzbek population of the oblast. A tragedy whose consequences will still be felt in the next century, unless urgent measures are adopted.

[Kaipbergenov] Someone I spoke with in Fergana said something that stuck in my mind: "I do not need a policy of democratization and glasnost, if it costs the blood of so many innocent victims!" What would you say to him?

[Yuldashev] The new policy has exposed sores that were carefully hidden for many years. If we had continued to hide them, the consequences could have been totally unpredictable. Party organs—from primary organizations to the CPSU Central Committee—have not yet learned to work in the new conditions. The "barricade" approach still persists: Whoever is not on our side, is the enemy.

[Kaipbergenov] In an hour of need, USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs internal troops arrived in the oblast's territory. How do you assess their actions?

[Yuldashev] The servicemen acted selflessly, especially in view of the fact that in the first, most heated days there was a categorical ban on the use of weapons or special equipment. I saw imported Plexiglas shields shattering under the impact of the attackers' stones, but all the same the young soldiers held their ground staunchly and courageously. The lads often acted as a "living fence."

Resolute measures began to be applied only after it became clear that the initial assessments of the situation were mistaken and we were dealing not with manifestations of hooliganism, but with well organized and armed formations. But even after obtaining permission to use firearms, the servicemen acted humanely.

[Kaipbergenov] A tragedy occurred in Fergana Oblast. There are innocent victims, there are refugees. Are you, as obkom first secretary, prepared to take political responsibility for what happened?

[Yuldashev] When I first heard what had happened, I will not deny that the idea of resigning occurred to me. Then I thought about it more soberly. How do you assess the action of a captain who leaves his ship in an emergency? It would be like running away, or rather like betraying your comrades, with whom you have only just begun to get down to work. You realize, I am not holding on for the sake of the job. And no doubt my family would breathe more easily... Without shrugging off responsibility for the tragedy that occurred, I take responsibility for finding a way out of the situation. I expect we will talk about this at the forthcoming party obkom plenum.

Karimov Replaces Nishanov as Uzbek 1st Secretary
LD2306113989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] The plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan examined an organizational issue today. The plenum has released Rafik Nishanovich Nishanov from his duties as first secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan Central Committee in connection with his elections as the chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Islam Abduganiyevich Karimov, who worked before as the first secretary of the Kashka Darya Oblast Committee, was elected first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan.

Latvian Jurists Submit Draft Law on Sovereignty
LD2206170989 Riga in Latvian to Europe 2030 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] Latvia's society of jurists has submitted to the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium a draft law on alterations to the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Constitution and a draft declaration on Latvia's state sovereignty. Taking into account the norms of international law and the rights of nations to self-determination in the Vienna documents recognized by the USSR, the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, fulfilling the openly expressed will of the people, proclaims the Latvian SSR a sovereign state and announces that in the future in the territory of Latvia only the laws adopted or ratified by the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet will be in force. This is stated by the draft declaration, which Latvia's society of jurists proposes for examination at the July session of the republic's Supreme Soviet.

Latvian Party 'Critical' of People's Front Appeal
LD2206162289 Riga in Latvia to Europe 2030 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] The Communist Party of Latvia Central Committee Bureau has adopted a resolution on the appeal of the board of the People's Front of Latvia Dome of 31 May 1989 to discuss the issue of Latvia's sovereignty outside the USSR state system. The Central Committee's resolution maintains a rather critical tone. It states that this appeal has further exacerbated the already tense situation in the republic and does not promote a rallying of society's forces.

Lithuania's Lack of Socialism 'Model' Lamented
LD1506132089 Vilnius GIMTASIS KRASTAS in Lithuanian No 14, 13-19 Apr 89 p 6

[Letter to the Editor by Sofija Putrinskiene]

[Text] The 26 March elections proved to be a political lesson for winners as well as losers. The former were shown that they have the support of the people who hope Sajudis will not disappoint the nation but will give credence to their yearnings.

The alleluia on Easter morning had a very significant sound.

We had been waiting in the hope the party would be able to provide an objective evaluation of the real reasons for its losses. I have been a card-carrying Communist for 30

years and I must admit that I was disappointed by the official evaluation of the election results. In my estimation the Communist Party's greatest mistake rests in the fact that we did not find the right type of socialism since we still refer to what we have today as socialism. To date the party has not mustered enough strength to inform the people of the periods of state history, that are referred to as: militant communism, Stalinism, voluntarism and stagnation (Brezhnevism), in which we find ourselves presently. The victories of this period are diminished by the millions who died of starvation, the tens of millions who were killed and suffered repressions, the camps and strict forced-labor camps, the privileges and honors bestowed upon repression perpetrators (many of whom are either personal pensioners or have been buried with honors at state expense), the rationing coupons, the women, who mix concrete on construction sites and pour asphalt on streets, who earn their children's living in mechanical enterprises, the hundreds of thousands of outcast children, the fear to be oneself and to follow the voice of reason, the endless "Food Program" fulfillment, the food stores featuring ground cow hooves, and also the crowds of people demanding their rights and a solution to social problems.

The party has not offered us a new model of socialism. It seems to me that herein lies the crux of its crisis.

Many voters declared that on 26 March they are dissociating themselves from this type of party apparatus (this happened in more than one USSR region). The Lithuanian people dissociated themselves from that segment of the party which stated its platform at the 27th Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum.

More than two-thirds of the 33 Lithuanian deputies elected on 26 March are Communist Party members. Thus it can not be claimed that the Communists lost the election. The party of B. Genzelis, K. Prunskiene, R. Gudaitis, V. Statulevicius, V. Velikonis, N. Medvedevas and other decent individuals, was the victor. For all of those 30 years I clung to the sacred belief that I belonged to this party. This was my incentive to continue carrying the party card to date.

The leaders of our republic have expressed more than once (even after the elections) their envy of the Estonians. Here is another phenomenon turned upside down. Our party and government leaders could have gone the way of the Estonians. However, they went off in the opposite direction, both at the Supremes Soviet session and the Central Committee plenum. Our nation is not the one who fails to follow its leaders. It is the leaders who fail to go along with the nation. This is why we, the people of Lithuania, have reason to envy the Estonians. We envy them, but at the same time we are hopeful that the Estonian variant will also reach Lithuania.

Vilnius Conference Marks Deportation Anniversary
LD1506174189 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 13 Jun 89

[Excerpts] The scientific conference "Lithuanians in Exile", which opened in Vilnius yesterday [12 June], marked the beginning of the events designed to commemorate 14th June, the day of mourning and hope. The conference was arranged by the Public Commission for the Investigation of Stalinist Crimes and by the Vilnius Deportees themselves to discuss and assess the most tragic period in the Lithuanian nation's life for the past century—the period between 1941 and 1953. [passage omitted]

The chief task facing the historians nowadays is to write a history of the deportation. To do this they must have access to the documents stored in the archives of the State Security Committee and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The total number of Lithuanian citizens deported before and after the war seems to amount to 300,000. [passage omitted]

The resolution adopted at the conference said, among other things, that the Stalinist policies must be regarded as the genocide of the Lithuanian nation. The resolution demands that all the deportees with a criminal record and the political prisoners be rehabilitated, and that the ideologists and the active executors of those actions be publicly denounced. The resolution also contains a demand that the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the State Security Committee, and the Procurator's Office of Lithuania be transferred to Lithuania's subordination.

The conference "Lithuanians in Exile" is planned to be held yearly in June.

Lithuanian Church-State Relations Discussed 3 Apr
LD2006133089 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 4 Apr 89 p 4

["TIESA information article" on a news conference at the Lithuanian Socialist Republic Council of Ministers on 3 April]

[Text] In addition to the Catholic population, in Lithuania currently members of the old believer, orthodox, Lutheran, Reformed Church, Baptist, Karaim and Pentecostal religious groups reside there. They are being administered by 10 religious centers. Since the middle of last year 27 new groups have registered in the republic. Their current number has already reached 781. These and other facts relevant to the state of religion in the republic were presented at the news conference held yesterday at the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers. Kazimieras Valancius, Lithuanian SSR representative for religious affairs under the USSR Council of Ministers and Fiodoras Lebedevas, his deputy, met with press, radio and television representatives.

An open discussion took place at the news conference on reasons, which in the not-too-distant past, had been the cause and support of continuing mistrust and opposition. Currently, the state and church as well as believers

and nonbelievers are urged to join in seeking goals dear to everyone—national rebirth, the preservation of moral values, struggle for peace and other lofty goals.

The journalists were interested to learn how work was progressing at the office of the Lithuanian SSR representative to the Council for Religious Affairs under the USSR Council of Ministers. They were informed that the restoration of St. Casimir's Chapel is slated for completion in May. They were also told that the Freedom of Conscience Law was still under deliberation and that no reply has to date been received from Moscow on the request for republic self-administration on relations between religious groups who live within its territory. Other questions were also answered.

The conference was conducted by Ceslovas Jursenas, information representative of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers.

Defense Ministry Opens Estonian Naval Areas

LD1906103889 Tallinn NOORTE HAAL in Estonian 7 Jun 89 p 1

[Article by V. Syrnikov: "Restrictions Annulled"]

[Text] The USSR Ministry of Defense opened 28 naval areas which were previously declared closed within the territorial waters of the Soviet Union, covering an area of over 300,000 square kilometers. The majority of this lies within the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic].

The official reply No 903/312 on opening the naval areas, issued by Vice Admiral Komarov, head of the USSR naval military chiefs of staff, is the result of persistent and determined work by the Soviet Peace Defense Committee and the Tallinn Condor ecological naval expedition.

The annulment of the ban means that boats can now enter these waters and fishermen may fish there. In this connection, the peaceful use of these waters will be extended, while naval armaments in the Baltic will be restricted.

The names and designated numbers of the areas newly opened will shortly be published in the IZVESHCHENIYA MOREPLAVATELYAM special issue, and the VODNYY TRANSPORT newspaper.

The possibility of opening several other naval areas in the near future is under discussion.

Belorussian People's Front Opens First Congress

LD2606103489 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] The founding congress of the Belorussian People's Front has opened today in Vilnius. Eight months have already passed since the People's Front was set up in Belorussia. However, up till now, serious stumbling stones are placed on their path in their own republic. The conservative leaders of the Belorussian Communist Party have prohibited to hold the congress in Belorussia. The People's Front of Belorussia is supported by half a million people, including scientists and people of art. Stalin carried out a policy of genocide in Belorussia almost 20 years before he carried it out in Lithuania. At present, 10 million people live in Belorussia. Eighty percent are Belorussians, but only 14 percent of their children can attend schools with the Belorussian language of instruction.

The burning issues of political and public life of Belorussia were discussed at the founding congress of the Belorussian People's Front. The program of its activities and several resolutions are to be adopted at the congress. The People's Front is supported by some of the people's deputies from Belorussia, who also took part in the congress. Many of the speakers today touched upon the disastrous aftermath of the Chernobyl accident.

Moldavian-USSR 'Reunification' Day Prompts Appeal

LD2306171189 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] The leaders of Moldavia, a Soviet republic in this country's southwest, have appealed to the people in connection with the Day of Reunification with the Soviet Union to be marked on the 28th.

The appeal says alongside positive trends in the republic's economic, political, and intellectual life, there still are negative phenomena resulting from past mistakes and drawbacks in government and managerial activities. These are causing rightful indignation on the part of many Moldavians, which is a sentiment some extremist groups have been trying to play on. The extremists are claiming the Moldavian people were deprived of their independence in 1940, whereas in reality they overthrew the tyranny of royal Romania and won unity and freedom.

The appeal calls on all Moldavians to approach ethnic history correctly and soberly and rebuff all attempts at getting involved in irresponsible or adventuristic activities.

Associated Press Interviews Ukraine's Shcherbitskiy

18001194b Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 21 May 89 pp 1-2

[Interview with V.V. Shcherbitskiy by AP correspondent Ann Imse: "Restructuring Covers All Spheres of Life. V.V. Shcherbitskiy's Answers to the Associated Press"]

[Text] A correspondent of the American Associated Press, Ann Imse, asked CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and First Secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee V.V. Shcherbitskiy a number of questions on the course of restructuring and the development of glasnost in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR].

We publish the responses of V.V. Shcherbitskiy passed to the agency on 12 April this year and transmitted via their channels.

[Shcherbitskiy] Before responding to the questions posed I would like to note the following. The fact that an influential American news agency has asked me for an interview objectively reflects the great increase in the American public's interest in the course of restructuring in the USSR, including the Ukraine. We are ready to develop cooperation for the sake of further strengthening mutual understanding between our peoples.

Second, it is understandable that the profound changes in our society associated with intensive restructuring processes are taking place in an ambiguous and sometimes contradictory manner. The essence of these contradictions sometimes seems far from simple, the more so when based only on personal impressions. I think this circumstance also results from the fact that some issues, it has occurred to me, result from a certain one-sidedness and even preconceived opinions.

[Imse] What is restructuring in the Ukraine? Give us some examples, please.

[Shcherbitskiy] It is both easy and quite a complicated thing to answer this question. It is easy because, as they say, the signs of renewal can be seen with the naked eye. It is complicated because we must choose the most indicative examples: Within the republic, as throughout the country, the new mechanism of restructuring is being switched in to cover increasingly new spheres of our life. On the other hand, we see, of course, that not everything always moves at the rates expected. And it must be emphasized that we must assess the effectiveness of each decision from the very strictest positions. For the contraindications of restructuring are both tardiness and making no headway and ill-considered leaps and bounds.

First and foremost I deem it necessary to note that over the past 3 years the republic economy has largely succeeded in moving toward direct satisfaction of people's growing demands and needs. In industry, growth rates for the production of consumer goods have exceeded growth rates for the means of production. Consumer goods worth R2.2 billion above the plan have been produced. The housing construction plan for the republic has been exceeded by 200,000 square meters. More schools, children's preschool facilities, and medical facilities than envisaged by the plan have also been constructed.

It is pleasing that positive shifts also typify the agro-industrial complex. Grain purchases have risen 27 percent, meat 25 percent, military 21 percent. The proportion of capital investments in the social sphere in the countryside has risen to 25 percent. More than R6 billion have been allocated for this purpose, or almost as much for the entire previous 5-year plan.

The labor collectives are actively mastering the new management methods, and socialist initiative is on the rise. From this year all sectors of material production have switched to cost recovery [samookupayemost] and self-financing. There are more examples of industrial enterprises functioning on a cooperative basis and under leasing conditions. Some 78 percent of the work in construction is being done using the method of the collective contract. This year two-thirds of the collective farms [kolkhozes] and state farms [sovkhozes] will be using various forms of leasing, while 35 percent of farms are switching the main sectors of crop growing and livestock farming fully to these relations. This kind of approach is in line with the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum decisions. Over the past year there has been a sevenfold increase in the various cooperatives producing goods for the national economy, the public catering sphere, and consumer services, and about 250,000 people are employed in this (although the reserves here are much greater).

I think you will agree that all these are visible examples of restructuring.

Or take the complex and delicate sphere of interethnic relations. For the Ukraine, with its population of more than 50 million, includes more than 36 million Ukrainians, more than 10 million Russians, 634,000 Jews, more than 400,000 Belorussians, almost 300,000 Moldavians, and major national-ethnic groups of Poles, Bulgars, Hungarians, Romanians, and Greeks (figures from the 1979 census). The representatives of more than 100 nations and nationalities are living in the republic. Our goal is to satisfy as fully as possible the national-cultural needs of the population, including those national minorities living on compact areas.

A program has been devised and is being consistently implemented in the republic to resolve the problems that have accumulated here. The Commission on Questions of Patriotic and International Indoctrination and Interethnic Relations is working actively in the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet. A corresponding subdivision has also been set up in the party central committee. Steps are being taken to further expand the sphere in which the Ukrainian language functions and to ensure its status as the official language, and also for the harmonious development of national-Russian bilingualism.

I must also mention problems of the ecology, which, unfortunately, have not bypassed our developed industry and agrarian republic. In recent years our attention toward this has been strengthened. Suffice it to say that since the start of the 5-year plan about R5 billion have been spent to carry out an entire complex of nature conservation measures. Much is now being done to shape an ecological awareness in both leaders and rank-and-file workers, and to increase legal liability for violation of the rules of nature conservation.

We give, of course, due consideration to the fact that for a successful resolution to the tasks of restructuring, new work methods are essential. And this means that we also need a renewal of the cadre body at both the lower and the top levels. For example, over the past 3 years new people have been appointed to the posts of four central committee secretaries, the chairman of the republic Council of Ministers, and five of his deputies, and one in every two of the ministers and department chiefs and one in every three of the oblispolkom chairmen have been replaced. More than half of the oblast party committee [obkom] secretaries, and the secretary of the Kiev party obkom, have been replaced.

[Imse] How is the development of glasnost being seen in the Ukraine?

[Shcherbitskiy] One can judge this merely from a single fact. Since the comprehensive study of public opinion and the in-depth ecological and economic studies conducted subsequently, construction was halted on the Dunay-Dnepr Canal, which would have done great damage to nature in the south of the republic. The course of the discussion on this question and its results were extensively carried by our mass media.

Thus, we understand glasnost first and foremost as the opportunity to seek the advice of the various population groups before reaching decisions on particular questions. We also regard it—and this is extremely important—as an effective means for monitoring the work of leaders at all levels, and compliance with cadre policy. In this connection I think it is apropos to recall the atmosphere of openness and frankness that accompanied the formation of the leading organs in the party organizations during the course of the accountability-and-election meetings and conferences late last year.

Finally, there has been a significant improvement in providing the public with information about the activity of republic party, state, and economic organs, and the public organizations. In particular, the mass media regularly report on the activity of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and also its recently created commissions on the very important directions in party work. A subdivision for communication with the public also recently went into operation in the republic Council of Ministers.

[Imse] The Ukrainian newspapers are publishing much material on acute historical and contemporary issues, as is the all-union press. Many complaints have been made about electoral okrugs with only one candidate nominated for the post of deputy. Why is the Ukraine distinguished from other regions in this regard?

[Shcherbitskiy] First of all I would like to emphasize that to contrast one region to another and, for example, to talk about restructuring, so to speak, "Ukrainian-style," is an unconstructive and thankless exercise. The nature of restructuring processes in all regions of the country is a common one, since it is predicated on a common theory and political renewal.

It is also difficult for me to agree with your opinion on the republic press. Obviously some effect is felt from the fact that most of our periodicals are published in the Ukrainian language, and you are not as familiar with them as you should be. Meanwhile, the most burning problems of our life are discussed in them in a sharp and interesting way, and attract the attention of the various groups of readers.

Our leading newspaper, RADYANSKA UKRAINA, is conducting a principled and objective analysis of the ecological situation in connection with the work on major economic projects and their implementation. Here they also regularly publish by no means embellished political portraits of figures from the time of the personality cult and the period of stagnation. The newspaper SILSKI VISTI is compiling a unique chronicle of the history of the Ukrainian countryside and revealing the truth about the "blank spots," while MOLOD UKRAINI has boldly and constructively raised questions concerning the ideological-moral choices of young people and their positions under the conditions of restructuring and pluralism of opinion. The weekly LITERATURNA UKRAINA is keeping in its sights the complex and contradictory turns in the literary process within the republic during the twenties and thirties.

But of course, the picture of economic and moral renewal in the republic would be far from complete if our press did not pay the proper attention to the propaganda of leading experience gained in restructuring, or tell about those who are today showing themselves to be fine models of work under the new conditions.

With regard to the elections I think that it would be useful to cite the following figures. For the first stage of the elections throughout the republic 650 nominations were made for 175 posts of deputy. And 312 people were registered from their okrug meetings. The decisive factor in resolving many of the out-of-the-ordinary and unpredictable collisions was the prompting from the voters themselves. This also applies fully to the election okrugs where only one candidate was nominated for the post of deputy. (Incidentally, in terms of the number of such okrugs, the Ukraine was by no means different from the other republics.)

Of course, we favor competition among candidates and their programs. But first, the nomination of only one candidate in an okrug is in no way at variance with the laws on elections. Second, there is no need to look at things as though the sole nomination for deputy mandates was exclusively some leading worker. Third, we must not lose sight of the fact that in almost half of the okrugs a sole candidate remained only after a fierce struggle with other nominees. For example, six candidates were initially nominated in the Belotserkovskiy Territorial Okrug in Kiev

Oblast, but at the okrug meeting the representatives of the voters signaled their preference, and with a large majority, for the secretary of the Kiev party obkom. And the results of the voting on election day confirmed the correctness of this decision. The same may also be said about the first secretary of the Zaporozhye party obkom. Brigade leader L.M. Voronin, one of the candidates from the 50 Anniversary of October Kolkhoz, fitter V.V. Ivanov from the Crimean "Titan" Production Association, and a number of other rank-and-file workers and kolkhoz farmers were also elected as deputies of the USSR by overwhelming majorities.

In general I can report that we have analyzed the results of the election campaign and drawn the necessary conclusions, which will be necessarily taken into account when the elections are held for the republic Supreme Soviet and the local soviets.

[Imse] Why were you placed in a position in which you had to fight to be elected as a deputy when most of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo members were not?

[Shcherbitskiy] Speaking at the CPSU Central Committee January (1989) Plenum, M.S. Gorbachev said the following: "The Politburo deems it expedient that members and candidate members of the Politburo working at the local level, and also the secretaries of the union republic Communist Party central committees and the secretaries of party kraykoms and obkoms who are nominated in the territorial or national-territorial okrugs, should receive agreement for being voted for in one of those okrugs."

To me personally this proposal seems quite natural. All my life and labor and public activity have been associated with the Ukraine. And who but the population should decide whether or not I am worthy to receive a mandate as a people's deputy? It must be said that I conducted my election campaign more actively and in a more stepped-up way than ever before: I visited many labor collectives, appeared repeatedly before the voters, accepted their instructions, and gave due consideration to their wishes and comments. In short, there was an election struggle for the votes of the electors that was new in terms of its quality, as dictated by the political reform.

[Imse] The all-union press is publishing articles about the Chernobyl accident. Headless calves are being born in Narodichi. Belorussia is observing the health of 300,000 people. Why have the Ukrainian people been given so little information about the consequences of Chernobyl for the republic's population?

[Shcherbitskiy] Here, as they say, the wheat has been mixed with the chaff. Let us sort it out.

In my opinion, if the Ukrainian mass media deserve any reproach it should be not for lack of material but rather for a certain superficiality. Now the pieces being published are acquiring a proper sense of argument.

Judge for yourself. A detailed interview that Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Boris Kachura granted the Ukrainian news agency was published in the republic press. The same kind of openness typified the recently published official report from the republic Council of Ministers on this question. I might also name the meaningful article in the journal KIEV written by well-known Ukrainian scientists. A number of published pieces on the Chernobyl tragedy have been created by Ukrainian writers and cinematographers. But to judge from your question, you are unaware of them.

However, you will agree that the main thing is real concern for people's health. You are probably aware of the colossal resources that have been allocated to solve this task. The USSR Academy of Medical Sciences All-Union Scientific Center for Radiation Medicine has been set up in the Ukrainian capital. Its personnel have already made a notable contribution to work on both the theoretical foundations of treatment for casualties and practical methods for this. Those attending an international conference that took place in May last year in Kiev were convinced of this. Medical workers should also be given their due. One may judge the scale and complexity of their work just from the fact that it includes regular investigations of more than 450,000 inhabitants of Kiev, Zhitomir, and Chernigov oblasts.

The republic party central committee and government are approaching in a careful manner and with a high sense of responsibility the assessment of immediate and long-term development of nuclear power engineering in the Ukraine. It has been decided not to build a second section of the Chernobyl nuclear power station [AES] made up of six power units, or the fifth and sixth units at the existing stations, or the Kharkov and Odessa nuclear heat and electric power plants. With regard to the Crimean and Chigirinskiy AES's, we regard their continued construction inexpedient.

On the question of Narodichi. This was the subject of a recent conversation between journalists and a group of scientists from the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences All-Union Scientific Center for Radiation Medicine. The record of that conversation was carried in PRAVDA UKRAINY on 1 March this year. It was also the subject of a news conference at the Ukraine Ministry of Health, an account of which was also published. Considering that this material was quite authoritative and objective, we would recommend that you familiarize yourself with it. Access to Narodichi and other regions is open to both Soviet and foreign journalists and specialists to obtain information first-hand, as they say. And many have taken advantage of this opportunity. (A. Imse has also visited Narodichi.) I would add that based on his own impressions after visiting the area, the well-known American scientist Professor Richard Wilson of Harvard University commented as follows on some of the pieces that had been published: "Obviously the Soviet press has been infected with the American proclivity for sensation." There is some truth in this.

[Imse] Activists in the Ukraine are still losing their jobs and students their grants for their political activity. Why?

[Shcherbitskiy] I know of no instances in which people have been fired for political motives. With regard to student grants, here, too, the true state of affairs is at variance with the assertion made in this question. If what you have in mind is the rumors about the unofficial associations that have sprung up at Kiev University, then, first, their membership is not registered and it would therefore be difficult to talk about specific individuals. Second, grant commissions have been set up in each university faculty. About half of the members of those commissions are students. In the event of disagreement with decisions made by the administration concerning the allowance or refusal of a grant, they defend their positions and I make bold to assert that they do this in an extremely bold and persistent manner. So we have had no complaints or statements on these matters.

[Imse] In Estonia the Communist Party leaders are members of the Popular Front, and leaders in the Popular Front are members of the Communist Party and the government. In the Ukraine the deputy chairman of the Helsinki watchdog group has been expelled from the CPSU. Why?

[Shcherbitskiy] Evidently we are talking about a certain Nagirnyak, a worker at one of the design institutes. In fact, in February of this year there was an open party meeting at which those present decided to expel Nagirnyak from the party ranks because of his position, which is not in accordance with the CPSU Program and Rules and is aimed at damaging the interests of society and the international cohesion of the peoples of the USSR. The vote of the 96 party members was split 94 in favor of expulsion, with two abstentions. I would like to emphasize that the initiative for consideration of this matter came completely and totally from the Communists at the institute.

With respect to the so-called popular movement for restructuring in the Ukraine, most workers in the republic do not support its creation. This has been shown, in particular, in the extensive debate in the press on its draft program. Our people are assessing as quite unacceptable any attempts by individuals to use democratization for their own narrowly ambitious purposes, and frequently also for nationalistic purposes. They are understanding with increasing clarity that this leads to the path of impunity and national dissension, and runs contrary to the interests of restructuring.

[Imse] When he was visiting the Ukraine Mr Gorbachev said that more attention should be given in the republic to the national policy of democratization. He also said that the party must work together with the supporters of reform in the Ukrainian SSR Union of Writers. What was your reaction to this criticism? Why did the militia first give permission for demonstrations in Kreshchatika during Gorbachev's visit to the city, and then after he had left, changed its policy and banned them

[Shcherbitskiy] I deem it necessary to make the following clarification: Neither in his speech in Kiev nor during his meeting with the intelligentsia in Lvov and a group of writers in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee did the CPSU Central Committee general secretary raise this matter. However other criticisms and advice were forthcoming, and we are giving them due consideration in our work.

We have been pursuing democratization in the republic, and we are pursuing it and shall pursue it consistently and persistently in accordance with the aims of the 27th CPSU Congress, the 19th all-union party conference, and CPSU Central Committee plenums. Here we proceed from the premise that the meaning of democratization, its living soul, so to speak, is clear and complete consideration of the interests and aspirations of each social group and the attraction of new strata of society into the processes of restructuring.

This applies in full to the creative intelligentsia, from which the party and the people expect first and foremost talented works, competence, political realism, and wisdom. We are very interested in having its participation in our common endeavor expanded in every possible way. For example, the Taras Shevchenko Society of the Ukrainian Language, which has a broad program in the field of humanitarian activity, was recently set up with very active involvement by Ukrainian men of letters and with no less active support from the government.

We favor this kind of cooperation, including that with the so-called unofficial organizations, and we favor the consolidation of public forces and pluralism of opinion. But on one condition: Cooperation and consolidation should be effected on the political platform of restructuring. For it would be unforgivable shortsightedness not to see that sometimes the struggle is by no means about literary ideas. I repeat that our people are quite mature politically and are able to figure out who is who and what aims they are pursuing. Typically at the election meetings that have taken place demagoguery, unrealistic tasks and promises, and extremist positions have not received support from the broad masses.

With respect to demonstrations, I am able to report that it is necessary to obtain permission for them using established procedure. You will agree that this is a normal rule that operates in all civilized countries.

[Imse] On 23 December last year you said that the population was debating the question of the Ukrainian language, the "blank spots" in history, questions involving environmental protection, and the cultural movements, but that glasnost should not be used for the propaganda of national egotism and anti-Soviet ideas. What is it in those four fields that you regard as anti-Soviet?

[Shcherbitskiy] Since this is what we are talking about, permit me to quote from my own speech at the Kiev party conference to which you refer. Justifying the need for a differentiated approach to the various public formations, I said, in particular, the following: "It is one thing, for example, to have the unofficial associations that pose what are essentially the right questions but sometimes do not take into consideration the fact that the solutions to them require both time and new technologies and large funding. It is quite another matter when a small number of groups try to use glasnost and the public tribune to propagandize ideas of national egotism, which are alien to us, or even anti-Sovietism."

Restructuring offers an opportunity to each person to express himself as fully as possible. And we welcome any initiative of public significance. But here, the possibility of relapses into ideas unacceptable to us is not excluded, including the opposing of the national to the international. Nothing is simpler than to disturb the social atmosphere when it is a question of the fine and delicate feelings of national sensitivities, the more so since they are, as it were, present in all parts of life, in every collective. We cannot allow individuals to cling to restructuring when they are planning what are absolutely absurd ideas. We believe it is necessary to help people understand the dissonances of opinions and to explain the irreversible consequences to which all this may lead, and how much it is at variance with the spirit of our society, which is based on the friendship and close cooperation of the peoples of the country. This is our great achievement and we shall cherish it in every possible way. It is quite natural that the party, which put forward the initiative of restructuring, is called upon to assume this responsibility.

[Imse] Will the results of the investigation conducted by the commission in Bykovna be published? If not, why not?

[Shcherbitskiy] At a recent meeting of the government commission reports were heard from its members on the results of the study conducted on site at the settlement of Bykovna. In addition, the members of the commission familiarized themselves with information submitted by representatives of the unofficial public organizations. Expert assessments were also made. The careful investigation indicates that the remains of victims of the repressions in the late thirties are buried in the forest near Bykovna. The commission's final conclusions will be published.

I would like to add that an authorized commission of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee is already at work, conducting a study of material connected with the repressions that took place on republic territory in the thirties and forties and early fifties. The work of the commission is public and is being reported by the mass media. (The official commission report was published in the republic press on 16 April this year.)

[Imse] Is it true that you supported Gorbachev when he was elected general secretary?

[Shcherbitskiy] Yes, I did support the election of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to the post of CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

[Imse] Do you agree with everything in Gorbachev's program? If not, where do the differences lie?

[Shcherbitskiy] I would like to emphasize that we, the Soviet people, are pleased to recognize the growing authority of our state and of its leader throughout the world, thanks to the new political thinking and restructuring that the party and its general secretary are energetically pursuing.

At the same time it would be correct to talk about our restructuring policy as the fruit of the collective wisdom of the party. The members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo played an active part in devising it. And given all the creative discussions (and they are inevitable and normal when new approaches are being worked out), we had no differences of principle, nor do we now. And now ostentatious unanimity has been replaced by a lively and comradely atmosphere, which is a graphic and eloquent sign of the times.

I would like to add a few words in conclusion. The workers of the Ukraine welcome the warming of the international climate. A great deal here depends on our peoples—the Soviets and the Americans. Let us try through our common efforts to add to what has been achieved, and protect the shoots of detente that promise so much against the icy blasts of the cold war and the threat of nuclear winter. In order to live in peace we must know each other better, and this is natural.

Ukrainian Plenum Discusses Party Political Work

18001194a Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 17 May 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Information Report on a Plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] A Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee plenum took place on 16 May.

The plenum considered the question "Tasks for Republic Organizations in Strengthening Party Political Work Under Present-Day Conditions." V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, presented the report.

The following spoke in the discussions: A.Ya. Vinnik, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Donetsk oblast party committee [obkom]; A.P. Makarov brigade leader

in a brigade of tunnelers in the No 2 Tunneling Administration of the Krasnodonshakhtostroy Trust, Voroshilovgrad Oblast; N.K. Zadoya, first secretary of the Dnepropetrovsk party obkom; V.G. Sotnichenko, first secretary of the Nosovskiy party raykom, Chernigov Oblast; G.I. Revenko, first secretary of the Kiev party obkom; I.G. Grintsov, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and secretary; S.F. Gladkiy, metalworker in the furnace shop at the Dneprovskiy Metallurgical Combine, Dneprodzerzhinsk city, Dnepropetrovsk Oblast; I.I. Lukinov, vice president of the Ukraine Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Academy of Sciences and director of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics; S.D. Kushnirova, first secretary of the Shostkinskiy party gorkom, Sumy Oblast; F.M. Rudich, director of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Party History (a branch of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism); A.N. Girenko, first secretary of the Crimean party obkom; G.S. Bereza, link leader at the Dzerzhinskiy Kolkhoz in Lutskiy Rayon, Volyn Oblast; B.I. Oleynik, board secretary of the Ukraine Union of Writers and secretary of the party committee in the Kiev writers' organization; V.F. Plekhanov, member of the military council and chief of the political directorate in the Odessa Military District; Ya.S. Podstrigan, chairman of the Ukraine SSR Academy of Sciences Western Scientific Center; V.I. Tsybukh, first secretary of the Ukrainian Komsomol; V.V. Biblik, general director of the Kharkov Tractor Plant S. Ordzhonikidze Production Association; A.T. Zonenko, editor of the newspaper PRAVDA UKRAINY; N.I. Samilyk, first secretary of the Kirovograd party obkom; V.S. Venglovskaya, weaver at the Zhitomir Flax Combine; A.Ye. Kiva, first secretary of the Poltava party gorkom; A.Ye. Romanenko, Ukraine SSR minister of health.

V.V. Shcherbitskiy delivered the closing address.

A resolution was adopted on the question up for discussion.

V.I. Nakonchenyy, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadre Work Department, took part in the work of the plenum.

Ukrainian Catholic Church Appeals to Gorbachev

LD1306210989 Vatican City International Service in Ukrainian 0315 GMT 13 Jun 89

[Text] A delegation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church arrived in Moscow in mid-May to present to Mikhail Gorbachev their demands regarding the recognition of the right of Ukrainian Catholics to have their own churches, priests, and to openly profess their religious convictions. The Ukrainian delegation submitted their demands in writing. Yuriy Khristoradnov, the then chairman of the Supreme Soviet [title as heard], replied that this matter must be resolved together with the leaders of the Russian Orthodox Church. The Ukrainian delegation refused, however, to talk with representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church. They know that it has always taken a hostile stand not only with respect to the Ukrainian Catholic Church, but also to the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church. Thus the delegation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Moscow went on a symbolic hunger strike in front of the Moskva Hotel and on Arbat Street, opposite the Ukrainian bookshop in Moscow, where members of the Helsinki group usually meet.

And here is an appeal by the Ukrainian delegation to the public:

Democratization in the Soviet Union is unthinkable without respect for the freedom of religion and the rights and freedom of religious minorities who have been oppressed by the Communist regime throughout Soviet history. During the Congress of People's Deputies, individual representatives of the people openly spoke of the need to carry out broad political reform in the Soviet Union and to annul the anti-democratic laws which have been introduced in the period of restructuring. In striking contrast to the dialogue between the government and the people which has begun in our country is the present state of the Ukarainian Catholic Church. There are almost 5 million of us believers. The church is headed by 10 bishops and there are nearly 1,000 priests and monks. We have professed God's word to the people in a worthy manner. Our hierarchs, in the past and present, have never put politics before the Christian faith.

The liquidation of our church at the so-called Lvov Synod in 1946 and its formal unification with the Russian Orthodox Church, were one of the links in the chain of Stalin's crimes against humanity. Now, this crime against our church is being continued. Our church, which in fact came out of hiding in 1987, declared itself by way of some 40,000 signatures petitioning for a renewal of its legal status. Hundreds of appeals for the registration of church communities were sent off to local and central authorities. The only response to these lawful demands on the part of Greek Catholic believers was adminstrative terror unleashed by the powers that be.

Using non-registration as a pretext, local authorities in the Ukraine are imposing fines on priests and believers of the Ukrainian Catholic Church amounting to an overall sum of hundreds of thousands of roubles now. They confiscate prayer books and other property belong to priests. Giving a cynical interpretation of the new law on holding meetings, demonstrations, and assemblies, the athorities in the western oblasts of the Ukraine are applying it to prayer meetings of Greek Catholics and punishing priests with administrative arrest lasting up to 15 days. The height of cynicism was displayed by athorities in Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast, with the arrest of Father Hryhoriy Snykaylo for 10 days, immediately after his return from Moscow, where he was received by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on 19 May 1989.

For lack of other ways of attracting public attention to the problem of the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, priests and believers of the Ukrainian Catholic Church are staging an on-going hunger strike in Moscow during the work of the Congress of People's Deputies. We are fasting and praying in the hope that the Lord will hear our prayers and incline those in power in our country more favorably towards us.

Georgian Party Discusses Food Program Tasks

LD1706132189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 17 Jun 89

[Text] The Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee plenum today defined the complex of measures on reconstructing economic relations in the countryside and improving management and planning on all levels of agrarian production. The results of the CPSU Central Committee March plenum and the tasks of the republican party organization in implementing the party's agrarian policy were discussed.

The Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee Bureau report and the speeches by Comrade Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Central Committee, and other speakers provided a profound analysis of the situation which has arisen in implementing the republic's food program. It was noted that the problems which have accumulated over the years in the economy's agrarian sector have hindered the improved efficiency of agricultural output, and this could not fail to affect the supplies of the most important foodstuffs to the population. The way out of this situation which has arisen lies in a decisive turn of the whole economy to the needs of the countryside, the plenum stressed. Fundamental restructuring of the whole agro-industrial production on the basis of a variety of forms of socialist ownership and types of management is now acquiring principled importance.

The measures aimed at improving the organizational and political work of the republican party organization were discussed in detail.

Armenian Supreme Soviet Session Postponed

NC1506113589 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1600 GMT 14 Jun 89

[Text] The republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium met and discussed issues related to the convocation of the republic's Supreme Soviet. Taking into consideration that on 26 June 1989 the USSR Supreme Soviet will continue its deliberations, the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium decided to shift the session of the republic's Supreme Soviet from 27 June to 26 July.

The presidium also decided to add to the already published agenda of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet the question of the ecological situation in the republic and ways to improve it. Other state affairs of the republic were discussed and relevant decisions and decrees were endorsed.

Armenia To Sell State Houses as Personal Property

NC1706113989 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0425 GMT 17 Jun 89

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] The republic's Council of Ministers and the Armenian Republican Trade Unions Council passed a joint decision to sell the residential apartments in the buildings belonging to the state and social housing fund to citizens as personal property. In accordance with the decision, the protection of social justice in evaluating [word indistinct] the value of the residential buildings and apartments and in [word indistinct] of the legal acts concerning buying and selling transactions and all the responsibilities concerning the evacuated apartments are passed on to the relevant chairmen of the city and rayon soviet executive committees of the people's deputies and the directors of the enterprises and organizations which own such properties.

The (?decree) on the decision and the law concerning selling apartments to citizens as personal property and the payments for their maintenance and [word indistinct] have been published on the first and second pages of the paper.

Armenian Commission Reports on Mass Poisoning

NC1906132489 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 17 Jun 89

[Text] The Armenian Council of Ministers heard the government commission's report on the results of the investigation into the mass poisoning in Alaverdskiy. The commission, in investigating the causes for the deterioration in the situation, once more emphasized the poor operation of the equipment, the high concentration of gas in the workshops, and the lax implementation of the regulations regarding production and technical equipment. As a result of inattentiveness toward the rules laid down by the sanitary bodies, violations of technical safety and sanitary norms, the slackening of supervisory controls inside the combine, and gross violations of technological processes, there was an excessive concentration, many times greater than the acceptable levels, of sulfureous anhydrite over several districts of the city in the morning hours of 7 May. As a result of this, poisoning occurred and the sanitary and epidemiological center terminated the operations of the Alaverdskiy mining and metallurgical combine.

Armenia To Aid in NKAO Restoration Work

NC1506091389 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0425 GMT 15 Jun 89

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] The Armenian Council of Ministers endorsed the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] Special Administration Committee's proposal for the Armenian Republic to participate in the restoration and renovation

work of the cultural and historical monuments of the Armenian people in the oblast. It has been indicated in the decision endorsed that efforts should initially concentrate on the historical and cultural monuments which need urgent restoration and commissioning.

Strikes, Curfew in NKAO Continue 19 Jun

NC2006120589 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1650 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] During the early part of last week, strikes continued in enterprises and establishments in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], except for the agricultural and consumer services sectors. The continuation of the strikes is explained by the fact that the people are still waiting for a reply to the questions they have raised. Many things will be clarified after the return of the NKAO USSR people's deputies, who will be meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow.

During the last 2 days, the situation in the oblast has basically not changed. Stepanakert residents are [passage indistinct]. A critical situation has developed in the oblast's forest industry. Nearly 25,000 of the 150,000 hectares of forest area (?have been processed as building material) [words indistinct]. In view of this fact, the NKAO special administration committee has asked the USSR State Committee for Forestry for assistance [word indistinct] NKAO [word indistinct].

The curfew hours are still in force in the oblast. Relations between the population and the servicemen are [word indistinct]. There have been no violations of law on interethnic grounds.

Effects of NKAO Freight Unloading Strike Reported

NC2006110289 Baku Domestic Sevice in Armenian 0353 GMT 20 Jun 89

[From the republican press review]

[Text] KOMMUNIST newspaper has published an article on its front page by Dzharalogly and [name indistinct], two responsible employees at the Azerbaijani Railroad Administration, under the title "The Freight Is Not Being Unloaded." The article depicts an accurate picture of the railcar unloading situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. As a result of the stoppage of freight unloading, the NKAO enterprises have (?lost) R 1.4 million for the period between the beginning of the last year and (?1) May 1989. No less blameless for this situation are the directors of those establishments and enterprises who are participating in the organization of rallies. One of them is Dadamyan, general director of Stepanakert Motor Transportation Production Association and people's deputy. Disregarding the railcar unloading situation [word indistinct], speaking during the Congress of People's Deputies, he made the irresponsible statement that the envisaged [word indistinct] are not being dispatched from Baku.

Article Proposes Liberation of NKAO From Azerbaijan

NC1606162589 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0425 GMT 16 Jun 89

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] Sero Khanzadyan's extensive article—For the Sake of Our Unity and the Realization of Our National Demands—deals with his impressions of the Congress of People's Deputies and issues that cause concern. The article specifically underlines that the most urgent and primary problem for us is to detach the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] from the Azerbaijani structure and to liberate it from [word indistinct] degredation and discrimination. You already know that the USSR Congress of People's Deputies endorsed the formation of a commission of deputies. This commission will study the NKAO situation, solve the problem as soon as possible using Lenin's principles of self-determination, urgently liberate the suffering oblast from the exploitative domination of Soviet Azerbaijan, and hold a plebiscite later intended to unify the oblast through constitutional legality with its mother country, Armenia, or place it under the sovereignty of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Kafarova Replaces Tatliyev as Azerbaijan President

LD2206132389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1256 GMT 22 Jun

[Text] Baku, 22 Jun (TASS)—A session of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] took place today. It released Suleyman Tatliyev from his duties as chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR at his request and in connection with his retirement.

Elmira Kafarova, who worked as deputy chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, has been elected chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR.

The session discussed a report on the progress in implementing the USSR Council of Ministers decision on providing for citizens who have left their places of permanent residence.

The session was addressed by Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee.

Azerbaijan Local Industry Minister Appointed

NC1706102989 Baku Domestic Service in Armenian 0353 GMT 17 Jun 89

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The papers published the decree of the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet Presidium on the appointment of Aghababa Imanogly Abdullayev as the minister of local

industry in Azerbaijan. Until his appointment, he was first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

Ismailly Raykom Plenum Elects First Secretary
NC2006093489 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 19 Jun 89

[Text] The Ismailly Rayon Party Committee [raykom] held a plenum to examine the question of organization. The plenum relieved Mekhtiyev from his post as first secretary of the raykom and member of the raykom bureau on grounds that he has been apponted to another post. Isayev, who used to work as a responsible organizer in the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Organizational Party Work and Cadre Affairs Department, was elected by secret ballot as first secretary of the Ismailly Raykom and member of the raykom bureau.

Gasan Gasanov, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, addressed the plenum.

Baku Commandant's Notice on 'Unchanged' Situation
NC1706074489 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 16 Jun 89

[Notice by Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] The situation in the republic's capital remains unchanged. Peace continues to prevail. However, a small group of youths tried to disrupt social law and order in a number of places in the city during the holidays on 4 and 11 June. The residents of the city complained about this situation to the field military commandants' administrations.

I would like to remind you that mass gatherings and meetings are banned in the city under the conditions of the special situation. The activities of individuals who try to create tension and trifle with the feelings of the people in order to realize their malicious intentions will be resolutely obstructed.

I urge all citizens of international Baku to maintain caution in the future, abide by the established rules, and respect each other.

[Signed] Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District

Azerbaijan Aktiv Discusses Results of Congress
PM1606141789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jun 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Aktiv Meeting"]

[Text] Baku, 14 Jun—A meeting of Azerbaijan's party and soviet aktiv was held today to discuss the results of the first USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the tasks stemming from the decisions adopted there.

A.Kh. Vezirov, USSR people's deputy and first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, delivered the report.

The meeting approved the results of the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies. It was pointed out that the congress was a very important event in the country's sociopolitical life and a guarantee of the irreversibility of restructuring, democratization, and glasnost. The CPSU's vanguard role in society's revolutionary renewal and the immutability of the course formulated by the 27th CPSU Congress and developed by the 19th All-Union Party Conference were emphasized.

The meeting participants evaluated positively the constructive work of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic deputies' group and its balanced, firm stand aimed at normalizing the situation in the region and consolidating restructuring forces.

The meeting urged all the republic's working people to persistently implement the congress' decisions and make a specific contribution to deepening restructuring.

MVD Reports on Increases in 'Serious Crime'
PM1606110789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by A. Illesh: "What Is Happening to Crime?"]

[Text] In the 1st 5 months of 1989 internal affairs and prosecutor's office organs recorded 884,967 crimes, or 213,844 more than than in the same period last year. An increase of 31.9 percent—this is how Internal Service Major General A. Smirnov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] Main Information Center, began his report at the briefing.

Serious crime: More than one-fourth (27.2 percent) of serious crimes were committed against people—murder, rape, and grievous bodily harm. In the 5-month period the number of murders and attempted murders increased (compared with last year) by 26.5 percent, the number of rapes and attempted rapes increased by 20.2 percent, and the number of cases of grievous bodily harm increased by 46.3 percent.

Robbery cases of apartments, cab drivers, and private cars increased by practically 70 (!) percent. Criminals are increasingly calling on places where elderly people (up 50.9 percent), trade and public catering workers (up 105.7 percent), and people engaged in individual labor activitity and cooperative workers live. It is interesting that 77.3 percent of robberies were committed by people operating in a group. This is a very dangerous trend. Some 32.5 percent of the arrested criminals have faced criminal proceedings before (an increase of 15.5 percent).

Street crime: The indicator of the state of law and order on the streets is hooliganism. The relaxation of the fight against it leads, as a rule, to an increase in grievous

bodily harm, murder, and rape. In the 5-month period the number of cases of hooliganism increased by 21.7 percent compared with the same period last year, and in the meantime cases of grievous bodily harm increased by 65.8 percent, rapes by 27.6 percent, and murders by 36.8 percent. The link is particularly evident in Lithuania and Uzbekistan, Bashkir Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, Stavropol Kray, and Irkutsk, Moscow, Penza, Tula, and Ulyanovsk Oblasts.

And another thing, criminals have become much more aggressive. There has been an increase in the use of weapons against militiamen. In the month of May alone there were 17 instances of the use of weapons, as a result of which 23 militia casualties occured, 9 of whom died.

Crimes against property: More than one-half (56.8 percent) are thefts of personal property. This year (4-month figures) there have been 1,107 criminal prosecutions for racketeering and 687 people have been brought to trail. Extortion was most widespread in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], Sverdlovsk Oblast, and the cities of Moscow and Leningrad. In that same period 5,315 cases of involvement in games of chance were uncovered.

Internal Service Colonel B. Mikhaylov, acting chief of the media liaison department, comments.

In the range of measures adopted by the USSR MVD to safeguard law and order in the country serious attention is paid to combating organized crime more effectively. We have set up a specialized subunit and similar apparatuses are being formed in many republican MVD's and Internal Affairs Administrations in krays, oblasts, and large cities where the situation is most complex. Vigorous work is continuing to expose organized crime syndicates. In 1988 alone more than 1,200 highly dangerous and highly organized groups were uncovered. Let me give you some examples.

...In March, in North Osetia, the nucleus of an armed organized group that had been operating for a long time was arrested. The group had committed a number of murders, attacks causing grevious bodily harm, robberies, and acts of extortion. A militiaman was among those arrested. He had not only been impeding law enforcement organs, but had also been directly involved in serious crimes. Three pistols were seized, along with a large amount of ammunition, money, and valuables worth around R40,000.

As for racketeering, laws have been adopted on the USSR MVD's initiative to crack down on extortion in the RSFSR and the Ukrainian, Belorussian, Latvian, and Turkmen SSR's, and relevant proposals have been made to Supreme Soviet presidiums in a number of union republics. The covert character of extortion is well known. And it is not just that the victims do not complain to us, not wishing to publicize their unearned income. Many, alas, have no faith in protection against threats and other criminal offenses.

With the adoption in early 1989 of tougher measures on the crime of extortion, the barrier of distrust of the law enforcement organs is being overcome. And we have experienced this in practice. Whereas in the whole of last year 600 cases of racketeering were uncovered, in only the 1st 4 months of 1989 1,507 complaints were received about extortion, and criminal proceedings were instituted in 1,107 cases. They are all connected with extortion of large sums belonging to state and public organizations, cooperatives, or individuals.

Health Minister Reports on AIDS Statistics

LD1806154589

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1030 GMT on 18 June carries a 60-minute program featuring Soviet Health Minister Yevgeniy Ivanovich Chazov who answers questions from viewers.

The topics covered include the shortage of maternity hospitals, contraception, and shortages of medicines. In response to a question, Chazov says that the average annual amount spent on each Soviet citizen is R64.

On AIDS, Chazov says: "In the country we now have 269 carriers of AIDS—not people who are ill, but carriers—and 11 people who are ill with AIDS." Chazor says some 31 million people have so far been tested to find out if they are carriers and all 18 million blood donors are tested.

TV Political Observer Describes 'Planeta' Program

PM0106007989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 7

[Interview with Vladimir Tsvetov, USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting political observer, by I. Kukin: ""The Whole Planet Is in 'Planeta'"—date, place not given]

[Text] The international program on Saturdays is already familiar to television viewers. Not so long ago it acquired its own name—"Planeta". But the broadcast planned for 24 June will be quite unlike its predecessors.

Vladimir Tsvetov, political observer of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, tells the story:

[Tsvetov] I will begin with the fact that the "Planeta" broadcast will be filmed not on television but at the Moscow automatic lines plant named for the 50th anniversary of the USSR where we, a group of political observers, plan to arrive on 19 June for a meeting with the enterprise collective. The recording of this unique question and answer meeting will become the basis for the broadcast. Our "team" is represented by specialists who have a good and long-standing knowledge of the

main countries and regions of the world: for instance, V. Zorin for the United States, G. Zubkov for France, A. Zholkver for the FRG, and V. Korzin for the socialist countries.

In my view events of this kind have many positive aspects. First of all people are capable of expressing themselves far more frankly in a situation to which they are accustomed, of putting keen questions which seriously perturb them. There will obviously be many questions of this kind. Although the country's attention in the past few days has been held by the progress of the Congress of People's Deputies, which is comprehensible and explicable, interest in what is taking place in the world has hardly abated. The contact will also be useful to us and will make it possible to ascertain the problems of international life on which there are obscure points where we journalists are not working hard enough in supplying exhaustive and objective information.

[Kukin] Can you speculate in advance as to what the main questions put to yourself and your colleagues will be? What will you talk about?

[Tsvetov] Obviously about the problem of nuclear armaments and questions of disarmament in Europe. I think that people will ask about the situation in the socialist countries. People want finally to find out what we can borrow from the experience of the socialist camp countries and which blunders and errors we could avoid repeating when we have the example of our neighbors before our eyes.

[Kukin] Could there be a situation where you have to choose the wording of your reply very carefully?

[Tsvetov] I would not reply, although I could do so, on, for instance, the attitude of the GDR and Czechoslovakia toward our restructuring. I would not venture to assess the economic and political situation in Romania. The point is that so far the personal opinion of a Central Television journalist is often interpreted as being virtually the view of the country's government. What I could talk about is when zones of joint economic activity will be created. After all, the opinion is still current and it was heard at the congress that the USSR is voluntarily becoming a raw material adjunct of Japan. Unfortunately, we ourselves turned the country into such an appendage for many years. Yet joint ventures and free economic zones are all nonetheless a benefit, not an evil.

Republic TV Course in Chechen, Ingush Begins

18300696 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 13 Jun 89 p 4

[S. Lorsanukayev: "In the Mother Tongues"]

[Text] Republic television has introduced a new series of broadcasts called "Let Us Speak Chechen and Ingush." It is intended for representatives of non-native nationalities living in the autonomous republic who are unable to practice the language. The study course was developed by officials of the Chechen-Ingush L. N. Tolstoy State University.

6th Issue of Central Committee Journal Published

LD2006205989 Moscow TASS in English 2028 GMT 20 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June 21 TASS—The sixth issue of THE JOURNAL NEWS from the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee has been brought out. It opens with the section "At the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee."

The journal carries short biographies of 109 alternate members of the Central Committee and 70 members of the Central Auditing Commission of the party. It writes about sessions of commissions of the Central Committee. They discussed ideolgocial problems of inter-ethnic relations, a draft law on the freedom of conscience and religious organisations, ways of improving the economic mechanism in construction and proposals on working out a state programme of combatting crime.

THE JOURNAL gives detailed information of the Central Committee Office on the realisation of the party budget in 1988 and on the discussion of that problem at a session of the party Central Auditing Commission.

As it has been reported in the press already, a Politbureau Commission examined the cases of the "Alliance of Marxists-Leninists" (1932-1933) and of the restoration in the party of M. Ryutin. THE JOURNAL publishes detailed materials of that case prepared by the Party Control Committee at the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the party Central Committee.

The section "International Ties of the Soviet Communist Party" carries a programme of ideological cooperation between the Soviet Communist Party and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, as well as a review of the negotiations, meetings and conversations held in May 1989.

Contents of Issue No 5 of RODINA Reported

PM1606142589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jun 89 Second Edition p 3

[V. Lebedev review: "Magazine's Latest Issue"]

[Text] The fifth issue of the magazine RODINA (a publication of the newspaper PRAVDA) has been published. The articles and essays that you will find in it are based on methods of investigative journalism, strict documentation, and a clash of opposing opinions. This is particularly apparent under the magazine's permanent

"Viewpoint" rubric. In this issue the authors express different opinions on the role of the working class in the processes under way in the country.

The opinions of Larisa Piyasheva, candidate of economic sciences, and Nikolay Petrakov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, clash equally sharply in the political dialogue "Economic Reform: Ways and Goals."

RODINA completes a large article devoted to the execution of Nicholas II and his family at Yekaterinburg (documentary investigations by the movie playwright G. Ryabov "Forced to Shoot You" and by Doctor of Historical Sciences G. Ioffe "Special-Purpose House").

The article "Was Stalin a Secret Police Agent?" by B. Koptelov, director of the Central State Archives of the October Revolution, and Z. Peregudova, chief of a department in the same archives, is based on a professional analysis of genuine archive documents. A number of reports have appeared recently in the foreign and Soviet press that Stalin was a police department informer.

Readers will probably be no less curious about the history of investigations conducted by staffers of the V.I. Lenin Central Museum and devoted to I. Brodskiy's picture "Ceremonial Opening of the Second International Congress." This picture, which until recently was kept in the "closed stock," has now become the object of careful scientific study. The names of more than 200 of the people portrayed by the artist on his vast canvas have been established. And so the article by V. Michurov, the museum's deputy director, is entitled "Only 225 Have Been Named."

Readers will also find in the fifth issue of RODINA an account of Mikhail Bakunin, one of Russia's major revolutionary figures, an extensive historical essay on Dmitriy Donskoy, verses by Anna Akhmatova, a photofeature on the U.S. military inspectors in Votkinsk, and other materials.

It is possible to subscribe to the magazine for the second half of 1989 at any "Soyuzpechat" department.

Subscriptions are not limited and may be made out not only for this year but also for 1990.

Index 70798. The price for 6 months is R4.20, and for the year R8.40.

Economic

Economist Shmelev Comments on Problems

LD2406020689 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] [Announcer] Two weeks after the first inaugural session of the Congress of People's Deputies, people are still trying to digest the wealth of ideas that were put forward by many legislators. Most Soviet people—from government ministers to lowly clerks—are mostly concerned about the state of the economy. A noted Soviet economist, Nikolay Shmelev, said at the congress that he was particularly worried about the short-term outlook of the economy, the next 2 or 3 years. He expressed apprehension that unless the government is able to halt the snowballing inflation, the disintegration of the consumer market, and the huge national budget deficit, the country will find itself face to face with a financial collapse. The nation's economy has currently run up a budget deficit amounting to about R100 billion. Nikolay Shmelev comments:

[Begin Shmelev recording] The only idea of the budget deficit—it's a real danger for social stability in our society just now, and from my point of view it's the political problem number one. So, it's a bunch of measures. I cannot mention one of them, although they should be implemented as a whole—not one or two, but as a whole. Yes, the usual methods, the usual financial mesures to cut your budget expenses and increase your budget revenues, and only common sense—no great theories in this case. [end recording]

[Announcer] Nikolay Shmelev, who works for the Moscow-based Institute of USA and Canada Studies, has proposed a number of specific measures to deal with the financial crisis looming before the nation's economy. Among them he suggests borrowing foreign capital, increasing imports, slashing foreign aid, and liberalizing liquor sales and some others. Nikolay Shmelev makes the following comments:

[Begin Shmelev recording] Political difficulties, a lot of political difficulties—you should be brave to implement those measures I am recommending. Say to reduce our [word indistinct] capital investments. As a consequence of this step, it's inescapable, some unemployment in those industries. It's a political position. You—the first one—say in my proposals about borrowing some money from abroad, it's a political decision; you—I am sure that our government today understands the feasibility and...of this borrowing and maybe good, positive results of this borrowing, but they—I see that they are hesitating and I'm, I think that I didn't convince our prime minister and Mr Gorbachev (?for a) necessity of such a step [indistinct interruption] Yes, I am sure that their position will be not borrow any serious money from abroad. [end recording]

[Announcer] Nikolay Shmelev shot into national prominence several years ago when he suggested in a literary publication that perhaps some unemployment could be an accceptable price to pay for the transition to a more efficient market-oriented economy. Some people thought it was a heretical statement to make in a society priding itself on full employment at any cost provided to

all Soviet citizens. An American reporter asked him whether he thought his ideas were not accepted because some people discerned ideological meaning in them. He makes these comments:

[Begin recording] [Shmelev] It has ideological meaning maybe for you but not for me.

[Unidentified correspondent] Why do you say that?

[Shmelev] You think about ideological meaning of my proposals. I never think about ideological meaning. So you (?see) again I am talking only about common sense, not about ideology or about some... [indistinct interruption] Practical, it was only the practical results of proposals. So you (?might) know that saying of Mr Deng Xiaoping: A white cat, a black cat—no difference. It should catch a mouse. Unfortunately so, you are right, yes, a lot of our people, they—even simple practical economic measures they judge about them mostly from ideological point of view, not from point of view results and costs and costs and results. [end recording]

[Announcer] There is no denying that Nikolay Shmelev and other radical reformers have inflamed passions with their ideas. But what is their actual influence on the decision-making process in this country? Nikolay Shmelev:

[Begin Shmelev recording] I don't overestimate my influence and influence of my colleagues economists, but I am sure that the serious question is raised now and it should be discussed, it will be discussed by people at our top level, people who has that right of decision. I hope that my main proposal about the strict [word indistinct] date for liquidating our budget deficit, this proposal will [passage indistinct] to the middle of ninties but to solve this problem 1991 is the deadline from my point of view. [end recording]

Plans for Personal Computer Production Described

PM2306154789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jun 89 Second Edition p 5

[A. Boldinyuk article under the "Meridians of Cooperation" rubric: "Siemens, Orbita, and Others"]

[Text] The manufacture of personal computers is the sphere in which our technological backwardness has undoubtedly had the most impact. Whereas in most developed countries the PC has long been a common feature of not just banks and offices but the apartments of millions of people, in our country this "consumer good" is used for the time being by very, very few people. Certain steps to rectify the situation have been taken in recent years, but one cannot speak of any substantial changes. From this standpoint even the contract signed in Moscow with the West German Siemens company and the British Afro-Arab firm promise no rapid breakthrough by our country into the league of "computer powers"—that requires a whole range of measures at the most diverse levels. But as a step toward establishing our own PC production the contract is very important.

Our commercial relations with foreign countries have been overcoming many customary stereotypes in recent years. In this case Siemens will sell our country 300,000 computers worth around $700 million, organize technical and service centers for the computers, and supply software. Britain's Afro-Arab, which is granting the Soviet side interest-free credit for the whole cost of the order, will pay for these deliveries. The point is that Afro-Arab is a trading partner in a joint venture involving the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, the USSR Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry, the USSR Communications Industry, and the Orbita production association. And the Soviet side intends to repay the credit by selling on foreign markets high-purity chemicals and reagents for educational purposes—again with Afro-Arab's help.

The contract envisages not just the delivery of modern computers to the Soviet Union but also the exchange of specialists, the supply of scientific and technical design studies by the RSFSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, and the participation of Siemens specialists in research carried out by the ministry's institutes.

In the initial stage of the joint venture's activity it is planned to supply and assemble computers on the basis of components which will be replaced in stages with parts produced by Soviet organizations. Cooperation with Siemens will make it possible to set up on the basis of the Orbita association the production of 100,000 PC's per year. Moreover, it is also proposed to set up lines producing fax and telex machines, telephones, and domestic radios and video equipment.

Siemens already has a number of joint ventures in the Soviet Union, which produce sophisticated medical instruments, digital program-controled machine tools, and equipment for electric power stations, but cooperation in the sphere of computer production is being set up for the first time. In the words of Siemens Vice President Rainer Hallauer, the signing of the contract was made possible thanks to the expansion of trade and economic relations between our countries.

Housing Construction Controls Proposed

18210016 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 16 Jun 89 p 2

[Interview with V. Cherkasov, deputy chief of the USSR Goskomarkhitektura, by SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA correspondent I. Akkuratov; date, place not given: "Why There Was No Test"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] **According to figures from the USSR Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics], some 1.25 million square meters of housing is withdrawn each year from the housing inventory. The main reason for this is the damaged**

state of the buildings. In the cities of Armenia that were hit by the earthquake a state commission has been working, investigating the reasons for the destruction. The commission includes V. Cherkasov, the deputy chief of the USSR Goskomarkhitektura [State Committee for Architecture and Town Planning], who agreed to answer our correspondent's questions.

[Akkuratov] Vladimir Mikhalyovich, the state commission has been working for several months in the disaster zone. What conclusions has it reached?

[Cherkasov] Within the republic there were numerous violations of the standards and requirements during the construction of buildings and the production of construction materials. Incorrect use of reinforcements was permitted in ferroconcrete structures, the cross-sections of reinforcing rods were reduced in the fabrication of concrete and concrete mixes, and incorrect fillers were used. Up to 61 percent of columns and beams were made at below design strength. Hence the catastrophic destruction of framed and stone buildings during the earthquake. It would probably have been possible to avoid the enormous numbers of casualties if the houses had been built without deviation from standards.

The seismic requirements were essentially ignored during the construction of housing. Because of the disgraceful construction, many prefabricated ferroconcrete structures were two or three times less strong than the design standard: Reinforcements and filling materials in the walls of houses were either not joined or the strength of the weld was inadequate. In stone buildings the level of the masonry mortar was five times less than design, while the interface strength was six times less.

This kind of apology for construction led to a situation in which before early 1988 some 165 of the housing apartments being used that were built during the period 1961 through 1976 were in a damaged condition, and of these, 99 were in Leninakan. And indeed at one time the Armenian Council of Ministers had passed a special resolution on the restoration and strengthening of those apartment houses, but it was not fulfilled.

The conclusion of the state commission was unambiguous: Poor construction quality played the main role in the serious consequences of the catastrophe.

[Akkuratov] It turns out that nature itself set such a severe test for the construction workers. It ended in tragedy. But is this poor construction work found only in Armenia?

[Cherkasov] Alas! It is typical of many cities. It happens that buildings even collapse during construction. In 1986 two 9-story buildings, in Mogilev and Smorgoni, collapsed; the reason was the grossest violations of work technology. The following year part of a 12-story housing apartment in Tashkent collapsed. A year ago a 36-apartment 9-story large-panel housing apartment collapsed in Tselinograd. The examples could be continued; each year there are dozens of accidents of buildings in the country, and even more cases are hidden from the official record.

According to the data from our checks, almost 36 percent of the construction standards and rules are not being observed during construction and assembly work, while up to 47 percent of the requirements of the state standards are not met during the manufacture of prefabricated ferroconcrete structures. The reason for half of all technological violations is poor production discipline.

[Akkuratov] But a multistage system of control exists in the country to monitor the condition of construction work, and state acceptance has been introduced.

[Cherkasov] There has undoubtedly been a positive effect. But we must not forget that introducing state acceptance everywhere is an expensive business. The numerical strength of the management apparatus and the budget allocation are increased and—the main thing—thousands of highly skilled experts are diverted from production.

[Akkuratov] What solution do you see to the present situation?

[Cherkasov] Only through organizational measures is it possible to improve construction by an order of magnitude. We are suggesting that contract organizations be held economically liable for the quality of work. That is, in the event of poor construction, when it is not economically worthwhile altering a project, contractors should be paid a correspondingly smaller amount in line with the cost of construction and assembly work.

The role of the office-management organizations should be enhanced. Formally the representatives are part of the state acceptance commissions but their opinions are usually simply not considered.

It is high time to set up a unified state control system that together with the others involved in investments be economically responsible for the quality of construction. To this end it is necessary to eliminate duplication in the control organs and transfer part of the function of technical inspection by clients and client supervision by planning institutes to the organs of state architectural control. The main thing is to organize their activity on the basis of contracts with clients, on cost-accounting principles. Here, if construction defects are found during the guarantee period, state architectural control should together with the contract organization pay compensation to the building management for material expenses from their own cost-accounting income. This kind of experiment is now being conducted in Sevastopol, Vinnitsa and Chernovtsy oblasts.

Scientific

Aviation Minister Comments on Paris Air Show

PM2306153389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Jun 89 First Edition p 3

[Interview with A.S. Systsov, USSR minister of the aviation industry, by Colonel A. Andryushkov in Paris 19 June: "'We See Prospects for Growth' A.S. Systsov, USSR Minister of the Aviation Industry, Stated at the End of the Le Bourget Airshow"—first paragraph is Andryushkov introduction]

[Text] Paris, 19 June—The roar of jets over the Le Bourget runway has died away. The chief navigators have charted flightpaths home for the crews of hundreds of aircraft. The time when achievements were demonstrated has been replaced by a time for aviation specialists to ponder what they have seen. On the eve of my return home from Paris I met with A.S. Systsov, USSR minister of the aviation industry, and asked him to give an interview for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers.

[Andryushkov] Apollon Sergeyevich, in a few hours our pilots will be landing in the motherland. The 38th Le Bourget International Airshow will have become another landmark in the history of aviation. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers are interested in the aims we had set ourselves at this prestigious exhibition and the results we achieved.

[Systsov] Let's start by talking in general terms. For the first time our country displayed its most modern aircraft models at the Le Bourget Airshow, including fighters, ground-attack aircraft, and a helicopter. The task was set for demonstrating our achievements in different spheres of the development of Soviet aviation—for instance, both the giant An-225 heavy transport and the new Tu-204 and Il-96-300 airliners, and aircraft in series production: the MiG-29 front-line fighter, the Su-27 enhanced-maneuverability air-superiority fighter, and the Su-26M aerobatic aircraft.

In developing these planes our designers used a new planning principle, creating the next generation of aircraft. Incidentally, this was immediately noticed and assessed by representatives of foreign firms. Our airliners have been fitted with BTsVM [expansion unknown, may be "central onboard computer"].

[Andryushkov] Electric systems can be affected by the environment and storms. Won't this affect their reliability?

[Systsov] The aircraft have quadruple-redundant main systems; they are currently fitted with conventional instruments, which will later be replaced with more sophisticated instrumentation. The aircraft are planned in such a way that they are virtually uncontrollable without computer systems. They differ sharply from their predecessors in terms of economy too. Thus, the 100-tonne Tu-154 carries 150 passengers, whereas the 96-tonne Tu-204 can carry 204 passengers.

[Andryushkov] Specialists at the exhibition paid particular attention to our air ambulance—the Mi-17-1VA helicopter—calling it the most humane aircraft at Le Bourget. The development of which kinds of aircraft—military or civilian—is preferred in the world today?

[Systsov] I cannot give you an unambiguous answer. Despite the "warming" in the political climate of relations between the two social systems, the rate of weapons production is not easing up. The arms trade is one way the capitalist countries get rich. Our warplanes and helicopters are not inferior to U.S. or West European machines in terms of quality, and people have been showing interest in them. Why shouldn't we sell our aircraft, if MiG and Sukhoy combat hardware is better than its counterparts on either side of the Atlantic? You know that our pavilion was visited by NATO Secretary General Woerner. He made a high assessment of our equipment and the skill of our pilots.

For our part we have seen for the umpteenth time the predominantly military thrust of the exhibitions mounted by the developed capitalist countries and assessed objectively the F-18, the Mirage, the Tornado, the Rafale... So we have no right to ease up on issues of defense capability. We have reserves. We know what we are working on.

[Andryushkov] I have heard that foreign correspondents have included Anatoliy Kvochur, test pilot at the Mikoyan Experimental Design Bureau, in a symbolic list of the world's 10 best pilots. Admittedly, he himself considers this something of an exaggeration. After all, the list includes such aces as the former General Dynamics test pilot Neik Andersen [name as transliterated], who tested the F-16; and the Briton Heinz Frik [surname as transliterated], who taught people to fly the Harrier VTOL aircraft.

[Systsov] Kvochur's modesty and demandingness toward himself are well known. But he is indeed a strong test pilot in all respects. And he is not the only one in our country. Take, for instance, Viktor Pugachev, who amazed everyone at Le Bourget with his "snake bite" [kobra] in the Su-27, and other pilots who demonstrated their supreme skills here and comprehensively displayed the qualities of Soviet aviation technology.

[Andryushkov] Apollon Sergeyevich, I would mention the following feature of the show. At the briefings and press conferences staged by yourself and leading designers from our experimental design bureaus, foreign journalists were not persistent in their questioning. How do you explain this? Where has their former meticulousness gone?

[Systsov] They still have it. The explanation for the fall-off in their persistence is that we ourselves are candidly telling them things they couldn't even dream of in their questions. We never give out secrets—you can assure your readers of that. But, in talking candidly about everything, we are revealing our strength rather than our weakness. You have noted how little the local press has been writing about us. Foreign specialists have been quieter than they were at Farnborough last year.

[Andryushkov] Probably they had something to think about when they saw what we revealed to the world at Le Bourget....

[Systsov] It's possible.

[Andryushkov] Tell me, apart from studying aviation technology development trends in other countries and demonstrating our achievements, what other goals did we give ourselves in setting off for the Le Bourget Airshow?

[Systsov] I see what you mean. The most serious attention is paid here to the commercial side of things. And it must be said that we have had a certain success at Le Bourget. A number of contracts have been concluded to sell airliners and helicopters to Bulgaria, the CSSR, and Cuba. A protocol has been signed with Serge Dassault, head of the French aircraft company, on joint cooperation in developing a business aircraft. Talks are under way with Boeing. In a nutshell, we have widened the Soviet aircraft industry's horizons at the Le Bourget Airshow.

[Andryushkov] Apollon Sergeyevich, mightn't some people get the impression that we are again rushing to tell everyone that we're the best at everything?..

[Systsov] If we thought that, we'd just be deluding ourselves. It would be the worst possible thing to do. We still have plenty of problems. Here are just a couple of them. We should put every effort into developing series production of Soviet microelectronics as quickly as possible. We are currently lagging behind in this area. This lag will later affect aircraft construction and other sectors of the national economy.

The second impediment is the notorious COCOM [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] system, which bans shipments of new technology, equipment, and instruments to the USSR and the socialist countries. They are scared that this will increase our defense might. In fact this is an impediment to international cooperation. We need to resolve this problem by political means and strive for the repeal of draconian decisions. So, we can see the prospects for growth and we have clearly defined the paths to new successes in developing the Soviet aerospace industry.

Nuclear Reactor Claimed 'Absolutely Safe'

PM2306113989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Jun 89 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Safe Reactor"]

[Text] Sverdlovsk—Problems of safety in the nuclear power industry and the construction of fast breeder reactors are the theme of an all-union scientific and technical conference being held at the Beloyarsk nuclear electric power station [AES].

"Our station is one of the oldest in the country," V. Vylomov, acting chief engineer of the Beloyarsk AES, said. "In its 25-year existence the station has operated various types of reactors, including fast breeders, which make it possible to generate electricity and produce new nuclear fuel at the same time. The level of the station specialists' skill is so high that dozens of its former leaders have been invited to work at many other nuclear electric power stations in the country and abroad."

The Beloyarsk AES's fourth fast breeder reactor is now under construction and intensive work is in progress to enhance system and equipment safety. Specialists in the sector recently produced a design for an absolutely safe modular reactor, based on experience gained here, which participants in the conference will see for themselves.

Pros, Cons of Space Expenditures Assessed

18660185 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 23, 10-16 Jun 89 p 6

[Articles under general heading: "Revenue From Space—R2 Billion a Year. Ambitions or Profit?"]

[Text] "When will this 'peaceful exploration of space' come to an end? It is impossible to remain undisturbed seeing people's money go down the drain! Come down from the heavens to our sinful earth. We've had enough of soaring in the clouds when people here live in poverty—let us not be afraid of this word. There is no sugar, soap, drugs.... Shame! Mother Russia has remained as backward as it used to be!

"Sure, we can understand engineer-designers who get their special rations, draw astronomical salaries and other benefits. People who have to make it on R80, as do we health care employees and others, are of no concern to them. Far from it, they look at blue skies, and we go through hell every day. Yes, this is exactly what the condition of our health care facilities is like. So, is it not better to use the money spent for space in a field as needed as health care? After all, the Japanese live without space exploration, and live in grand style! And not just they."

[Signed] V. Smirnov, S. Kuznetsova. City of Shakhty, Central Hospital imeni V.I. Lenin

Commentary by a Specialist

The opinion has frequently been voiced recently in public statements to the effect that it is necessary to reduce outlays for exploring space, and to invest the funds thus freed up in social development and food programs. Opinions of this kind are sometimes uttered by those who seem to be sufficiently knowledgeable. Such views are probably based on two premises; specifically, that space outlays are so big that they may resolve all issues of foodstuffs, soap, detergents, and so forth. The second argument is that, as the authors put it, "people's money goes down the drain"; that is, space exploration is an absolutely unprofitable sector of the national economy. Is this indeed so?

The outlays for economic and scientific space in our country in 1988 came to about R1.3 billion. For comparison, they amount to one-tenth of the outlays of Minvodkhoz [Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources] and one-twentieth of the investment in capital construction in agriculture. 190 billion rubles have been allocated for the development of health care up to 1995. Incidentally, we may refer to the "astronomical salaries" of employees in the aerospace industry. The average 1988 salary for people employed in this field was R240, whereas in the entire national economy it was R217.

This is why the result will be very dubious even if all space "expenditures" were to be invested in agriculture, health care, construction, etc. What will we forego as a result of such a decision?

Let us ask the citizens of Siberia, the Far North, the Far East, and Central Asia whether they need communications satellites? After all, it is only due to these satellites, which carry TV broadcasts to 93 percent of the population of our country, that the inhabitants of these regions do not feel isolated from the center of the country insofar as information, culture, arts, and knowledge are involved.

According to data of the Ministry of Communications, satellite communications, radio broadcasting, and satellite TV generated economic results worth R540 million last year. Long-range and short-term weather forecasting, which at present are based in their entirety on data of the Meteor satellite system, generate economic results worth R500 to 700 million annually. We may name many other rubrics of profit from space exploration which convincingly prove that by now it has already become profitable.

In 1988 profits due to the use of space technology in the national economy exceeded expenditures for producing and launching space vehicles by a factor of approximately 1.5, and came to about R2 billion. According to calculations by specialists, this ratio is going to increase in the next several years.

I would like to emphasize the attention paid in developed foreign countries to the exploration and utilization of space. Several countries have their own space vehicles; other countries produce scientific equipment for space experiments. Finally, an overwhelming majority of countries use the services of space communication and navigation systems, and use space data in weather forecasting and the exploration of natural resources. Perhaps the authors of the letter would be interested to learn that budgetary allocations for space in 1988 amounted to about $1.1 billion in Japan and $9.0 billion in the United States. People as businesslike as the Japanese or the Americans can hardly be suspected of the desire to squander money.

[Signed] V. Kuznetsov, first deputy chief of the USSR Glavkosmos [Main Committee for Space Exploration]

Editorial Comment

Thus, some specific numbers on space expenditures and specific returns on them have been quoted, however with much caution, and so far only... for "near" space. However, there is also "remote" space—this includes the "lunar" program, and the "Phobos"... What funds are invested in the latter? Can they be cut without a loss to the country, but rather to its benefit?

As has become known from the speech by N.I. Ryzhkov, the funds are distributed as follows: economic and scientific space—R1.7 billion, military space—3.9 billion, the multiple-use space system "Buran"—1.3 billion, for a total of R6.9 billion.

Cosmonauts To Test New Spacesuit Equipment

LD2406015789 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] The designer general of Soviet space apparata, (Guy Severin), has told newsmen of a new device for astronauts' independent maneuver in raw space that's to be tested in a space expedition at the end of this or early next year. An independently operating motor will be fixed on the space suit to enable the spacemen to freely move within 100 meters from the spacecraft, changing his direction and speed. The device has been tested on Earth with the help of special air cushion simulators.

Military

Accident on Board Nuclear Submarine Reported

Fire Breaks Out on Submarine

LD2606062589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0609 GMT 26 Jun 89

[TASS headline: "Fire Breaks Out on Soviet Submarine"]

[Text] [dateline indistinct, passage indistinct] A Soviet submarine on the surface has been discovered off the northern coast of Norway by a Norwegian Air Force aircraft, bearing evident signs of fire on board. It is in international waters 110 km to the northwest of the island of Seriya, of the northern Norwegian province of Finnmark.

A spokesman for the Norwegian Armed Forces Command reported that rising clouds of smoke could be clearly seen from a height. An "Orion" [words indistinct] reconnaissance aircraft has been sent to the area to clarify the situation. At the same time, [words indistinct] services in northern Norway received distress signals from the vessel. The appropriate services in Murmansk were informed of this.

The rescue service center in northern Norway and the Norwegian Armed Forces Command have started to conduct a rescue operation in connection with the fire on the Soviet submarine that occurred this morning 110 km northwest of the island of Seriya by the coastline of northern Norway.

As the Norwegian telegraph bureau reports, a Sea King helicopter has flown off from the air base at Banak to the scene of the incident. At the same time, a detachment of motor-torpdeo boats and two vessels from the Norwegian coastguards have been sent there.

Commander Reports Reactor Fault

LD2606081289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0742 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow, 26 Jun (TASS)—At 0417 today, an accident in the main powerplant occurred on a nuclear submarine of the Northern Fleet, in a region 350 km south of Medveziy Ostrov. According to a report by the commander of the submarine, there is a breach in the hermetic seal of the primary circuit [pervyy kontur] of the reactor. The main powerplant has been shut down. No personnel are injured. The submarine is proceeding on the surface, under auxiliary power, to a base. Vessels and planes of the Northern Fleet are being sent to the area where the submarine is located. A constant link is being maintained with the submarine.

Submarine Proceeding to Base

LD2606091289 Oslo Domestic Service in Norwegian 0800 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Reports from (Hans Vilhelm Steinfelt) in Moscow and (Aslak Bonde) at Defense Forces general headquarters; date not given—first paragraph is introduction by unidentified announcer]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The Soviet submarine which caught fire early today northwest of Soeroeya Island, Finnmark Province, is of a type which has nuclear weapons on board. Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation ascertained this from the Soviet Foreign Ministry. The submarine is now on its way eastward under its own power; the submarine has a crew of about 90. (Hans Vilhelm Steinfelt) reports from Moscow:

[(Steinfelt)] The captain of the Soviet submarine reports that the fire started in the main energy source of the submarine. The Soviet Foreign Ministry confirms that the submarine is driven by a nuclear reactor. According to [words indistinct] reports to the Soviet Foreign Ministry, the hermetic sealing of the nuclear reactor has been burned, and the reactor is now shut down. Nobody was injured, the Soviet Foreign Ministry here in Moscow reports.

Soviet rescue vessles are (?now conducting) the submarine to a base north of Murmansk. The submarine is proceeding under its own auxiliary power. The Soviet Foreign Ministry reports that there is no need for assistance, either from civilian Norwegian sources, or the Soviet side. The Soviet Union gave the submarine's position as 350 kilometers south of Bear Island when the fire broke out (?at dawn today). [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Now we go over to our reporter (Aslak Bonde) who is now at the Defense Forces general headquarters.

[(Bonde)] It is now clear the submarine that caught fire is of the "Echo II" type, which is a relatively old type of submarine, built in the sixties. From what we know, at least one of this type has previously been destroyed. I asked press spokesman Gullow Gjeseth if what we know about the type of submarine it is means that we can now say how serious the (?accident) is.

[Gjeseth] No, we can't. We have only [words indistinct] from the outside, but from the reports we are now getting—we have also heard (?of fire damage)—so obviously something has happened to the reactor. We know that the Soviet Union has previously had problems with this type of submarine. How serious it is is impossible for us to say.

[(Bonde)] The Soviet Union is now reporting that the reactors are shut down. Does that mean that the Norwegian defense forces are assuming there is no damage from a radioactive leak?

[Gjeseth] Yes, we hope that the situation is now under control, and that is our impression so far. That the situation is under control.

[(Bonde)] What impression do you have of what happened on board the submarine?

[Gjeseth] The last report we had was that the submarine was under way eastward; that there are crew members on deck; and that it (?is calm). At the moment we have an "Orion" and a "Sea King" in the area, and we also have a [name indistinct] on the way, which will now be there in a quarter of half an hour.

[(Bonde)] Since the Soviet authorities say they need no help from Norwegian authorities, will this mean that they will soon depart—the Norwegian ships and aircraft?